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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 5 Jan

LD0501070494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0527 GMT 5 Jan 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER) on consultations on the candidacy of a State Duma speaker: "A regular round of consultations among the leaders of electoral associations on the candidacy of a future chairman of the State Duma continued in Moscow on Tuesday [4 January] afternoon. The consultations are not yet over and the final results of the round are not yet known. However, this round is apparently not the final one: The talks will be continued, with only a recess for Christmas, right up to the opening of a Duma session. Ivan Rybkin, one of the leaders of the Agrarian Party, told the newspaper. Various names of candidates were mentioned during the consultations. Rybkin, whose candidacy was named as well, said he personally regards as fruitful the idea of electing four deputy speakers. This will make it possible to ensure the stability of the ship called the State Duma, for the more interests are represented in its leadership, the more stable it will be."

TRUD on the reform-minded blocs' defeat in the recent elections: "The paradox of the past elections is that, notwithstanding the lack of victors, there still are the vanquished—reform-minded blocs. If they, while counting on winning a majority in parliament, did not get it, this cannot be called otherwise than a defeat. There is one hope, namely, that all political forces from the very outset will renounce orientation towards confrontation or political accusations against one another and will come to realise that such a path has already been traversed completely and it did not lead to anything but trouble".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on why State Duma deputies are so preoccupied with the speaker election issue: "There is one disquieting circustance: The talks, a regular round of which was held on Tuesday, focus on the search for a candidacy of a State Duma speaker. Why does this question worry the deputies so much? Under the new constitution, the speaker is a purely functional figure: He will preside over sessions and see to it that internal rules and regulations are observed. Neither party affiliation, attitude to reforms, nor a stand with regard to the government and the president should be decisive in a speaker's characteristics: only tactfulness, organising ability, an aptitude for the establishment of contacts, and loyalty to various points of view. It is not so difficult to find such a person among 450 deputies provided there is accord on priorities. But the matter, apparently, is precisely in priorities. This is actually the result of deeply ingrained habits of the soviet times: The main thing is what kind of a boss one will have, not the law (in this case—fundamental law). If the boss is not an outsider, then one has a chance for promotion, etc. If the boss is a stranger, one would have additional problems".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the possibility of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's participation in the forthcoming Russian-U.S. summit in Moscow: "The Ukrainian president's foreign affairs service has expressed doubt about the possibility of Kravchuk's participating in Moscow talks among the presidents of Ukraine, Russia and the United States on January 14, 1994, on the future of Ukrainian strategic nuclear weapons. The summit will coincide with an official visit to Kiev by President Nursultan Nazarabayev of Kazakhstan, the presidential service announced. According to the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, a meeting of the presidents of the U.S., Russia and Ukraine in Moscow is still possible but it will depend on the outcome of the ongoing talks in Washington which involve Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Borys Tarasyuk and Vice-Premier for Defence-Sector Issues Valery Shmarov".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) carries an interview with Stanislav Voronin, chief designer of Russian nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, who emphasises: "One does not toy with an atomic bomb in political games! Some politicians state that nuclear weapons can be dismantled in Ukraine. This is an ill-intentioned attempt to mislead public opinion. in Ukraine, there are neither specialists of the needed qualification, nor facilities, nor experience in dismantling nukes".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA runs an interview with Dmitry Volkogonov, adviser to the president of Russia on defence affairs. He said: "I could never agree that the army as one of major instruments of the state can be outside politics. Yes, it must be outside party-motivated politics but it cannot be outside state politics. The army should adhere to the course followed by the government and the president, who is the supreme commander-in-chief, the course towards security, the official course towards the armed forces' development, towards reforms, etc.".

PRAVDA on an attempt on the life of Aleksandr Barkashov, leader of the banned Russian National Unity Movement: "Could it be that the shoot-out in which Barkashov was heavily wounded was the consequence of his knowing some details of the firing on the parliament building?"

St. Petersburg's-based NEVSKOYE VREMYA newspaper on an explosion and fire near metro station: "An explosion, followed by a heavy fire, occurred at the entrance to the Russo-Italian shoe shop Marcopizii near Petrogradskaya metro station four hours before the advent of the new year. The blast smashed the stained-glass partition separating the shop and the hallway of the metro station. No one was hurt but many people were unable to get home by midnight—the metro station was promptly closed down. Criminal proceedings have been instituted."

Kostikov Warns Against Lithuanian NATO Bid

LD0501110994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1037 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, 5 January (ITAR-TASS)—A statement by Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary of the Russian president, was issued here today. It says:

In connection with Lithuania's official request to join NATO, I am authorized to state the following.

A desire to join international organizations is an acknowledged right of independent states. Democratic Russia respects such rights.

At the same time, the haste with which some countries, among them the Lithuanian Republic, are striving for membership in the military-political alliance cannot but put us on our guard. Regrettably, this tendency toward a bloc mentality is manifesting itself at a time when the world's major powers are earnestly seeking instruments for dismantling the inheritance of the "cold war" and are declaring their desire to build relations on the basis of principles of partnership in the name of peace.

Democratic Russia, with its new military doctrine and following the principles of interstate relations, exclude any kind of aggressive displays on her part in foreign policy. In this connection, the motives and arguments of countries aspiring to membership of NATO are unconvincing.

The president of Russia is worried at the tendency toward the expansion of the bloc system. The encouragement of such a tendency would contradict declared intentions to build mutual relations on principles of trust, partnership, and equilibrium.

The president is worried that expanding NATO with new members from the countries in direct proximity to Russia's borders will provoke a negative reaction in Russian public opinion, promote the development of undesirable attitudes in civilian and military circles, and, ultimately, could lead to military-political destabilization in a region which is of key importance for the destiny of the world.

President Boris Yeltsin expects that the leaders of NATO member-countries and the NATO leadership will dispel the impression of ambiguity in their position on the issue, which has a bearing both on the destiny of the world and the national interests of Russia.

Meeting With Lithuanians Discusses Foreign Missions

WS0501110194 Tallinn BNS in English 0707 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, Jan 04, BNS - A meeting between Boris Pastukhov, a Russian deputy foreign minister, and his Lithuanian counterpart Albinas Januska took place Tuesday [4 January] in Moscow, the press service of the Lithuanian Embassy in Moscow told BNS.

The ministers discussed Lithuania's rights to buildings of diplomatic missions in Paris, Rome and Moscow. The buildings belonged to Lithuania before 1940, but after Lithuania's annexation by the Soviet Union they passed into the hands of some Soviet organizations. The Lithuanian embassy building in Paris was taken over by the APN news agency, and the Soviet embassy in Italy moved into the building of the Lithuanian embassy in Rome. Lithuania insists on the return of the buildings.

The meeting also touched on the question of rooms of the Russian diplomatic mission in Vilnius. It is currently located in an old administrative building, which the Russian diplomats claim to be unsuitable for their work. The situation is complicated because Vilnius did not belong to Lithuania until the country's occupation by the Soviet Union, and so no Soviet embassy existed there.

This was the first time the foreign ministries of the two countries discussed the problem of the Lithuanian embassies in Moscow, Paris and Rome and the Russian embassy in Vilnius in their complexity. The Russian side previously refused to consider restoration of the buildings in Paris and Rome to Lithuania.

The meeting was "constructive and positive," stated the official press release of the Lithuanian Embassy in Moscow. "The parties will draw their final conclusions during future meetings," the officials said.

After the talks with Pastukhov, Januska met with Sergey Krylov, a Russian deputy foreign minister, to discuss the relations between Lithuania and Russia, particularly the problems related to the Russian Kaliningrad enclave.

E. Europe Invokes Zhirinovskiy To Press Over NATO

PM0501114394 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 94 First Edition p 1

[Vladimir Nadein report: "Eastern Europe Awaits Bill Clinton and Asks for NATO Membership"]

[Text] Washington—Eastern Europe is calling for amendments to the Partnership for Peace program. At present opposition to this is not so tough, but, as an American diplomat put it, "if the East Europeans do not believe in partnership, it loses all point."

Official State Department representatives have said that all diplomatic channels are being used on both sides of the ocean to ensure that no doubts linger: If the East Europeans reject partnership, it will not be to their benefit.

However, today these arguments no longer work as they did prior to the recent parliamentary elections in Russia. When the charms of gradualism are praised in Warsaw or Prague, only one word is heard in response: Zhirinovskiy.

Even Boris Yeltsin's offer of security guarantees, which Russia, along with NATO, is ready to give its former

Warsaw Pact allies, is viewed in Warsaw, Prague, and Budapest in the light of 50 years of inequality. The Russian president's offer is presented as the latest piece of evidence: Look, our suspicions are not without foundation, Russia still considers itself the arbiter of its former satellites' fate.

Of course no serious politician is entitled to ignore the staying power of Russian imperialism, as demonstrated by the vote for Zhirinovskiy. However, U.S. officials are coming increasingly to the conclusion that "recent expressions of regret over the results of the Russian elections are being voiced by the East Europeans to create as persuasive a case as possible for eventual NATO membership."

However, this stance by the U.S. Administration is coming under criticism. Both the leaders of the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary and the representatives of the political opposition in those countries are asking for the criteria of NATO membership to be elaborated as a matter of urgency.

The opinion is spreading among observers that U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is coming around to the standpoint actively prmoted by Czech President Vaclav Havel: Namely that, while there is no need to revise Partnership for Peace at present, the terms which will open the organization's doors to Eastern Europe should be enshrined in a document at the upcoming meeting of heads of state and government in Brussels.

However, the position of Strobe Talbott, recently special envoy for former Soviet Union affairs and now second in command at the U.S. State Department, remains immutable and firm: There are no new demarcation lines in Europe. Staffers close to Talbott maintain that in deliberately exaggerating the significance of the pro-Zhirinovskiy vote the East Europeans are pursuing perfectly natural aims: Full NATO membership means belonging to the Western world, which brings with it not so much security guarantees, the need for which is highly illusory, so much as entry to Western markets and an inflow of investments.

The question to which American diplomacy has not yet formulated a definitive answer for itself probably goes as follows: Is democracy in Russia capable of curbing the onslaught of imperialist, chauvinist tendencies and preventing the state being run by radicals like Zhirinovskiy?

GMM Moscow Office Denies Funding Zhirinovskiy

MK0501105094 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 5 Jan 94 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Hold the Front Page!" rubric: "GMM at the Peak of Problems"]

[Text] "The GMM [Global Money Management] company has nothing to do with bankrolling any Russian parties or blocs, even less so Zhirinovskiy," our correspondent was told by Aleksandr Liozner, head of the company's Moscow office, responding to accusations in a number of mass media. "All this can be easily checked against bank documents. As for Aleksey Zuyev, elected deputy of the State Duma from the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, he never worked for GMM and no work agreements were concluded with him. The position of "adviser to the president," he indicated, has never existed in the company...."

According to our information, GMM will take action against Mikhail Leontyev and the newspaper SEGODNYA tomorrow. At this stage the firm plans to hold a series of consultations with the Central Bank, which has suspended GMM operations. Mr. Shakhovtsov, head of the Central Bank banking supervision section, has said that in the absence of legislation on trust companies, the operation of GMM pertains equally to that of a trust and of a banking company.

In Zhirinovskiy's headquarters, it was said to our request for comments on the situation that the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia absolutely did not care about GMM's problems, and that the party was busy devising plans to destroy Germany, which had refused its leader an entry visa.

Churkin on Bosnia Peace Plan, Ties With Croatia

AU0501112994 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 93-2 Jan 94 pp 14-15

[Report on interview with Vitaliy Churkin, President Yeltsin's personal envoy for issues concerning the former Yugoslavia, by Bogoljub Lacmanovic in Moscow on 27 December: "Realist Autonomy for the Serbs"]

[Text] "If the present peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina is not signed on 15 January in Geneva—that is, by the end of January 1994—the consequences for all parties to the conflict will be disastrous." Vitaliy Churkin, President Yeltsin's personal envoy for issues concerning former Yugoslavia, told me during our one-hour interview. Surprised, I gave him a long, sharp look, trying to decide whether behind this "dark forecast" there only lay an attempt to place more pressure on the parties to sign the peace agreement through a public message in the papers.

Churkin caught the look and continued: "No, no. I am sure that the present peace plan cannot hold forever without being signed, especially since the plan contains resolutions to 99 percent of the disputed issues, and there is tension about whether the plan will be signed. I will allow a term of two months at the most, but if the plan is not signed by then, I believe that the peace plan will fail, as will all the positive achievements related to it. Then, when the snow begins to melt, all the conflicting sides will take their gloves off and start fighting with their bare hands. In short, what could not be solved at the negotiating table will be solved on the battlefield. Consequences will be terrible not only for Bosnia and the

entire former Yugoslavia, but for Europe as well. It will then be difficult to stop the war. Europe will be faced with a new wave of refugees, and the burden of humanitarian aid will also increase. However, we are doing this interview for the new year's edition of your paper, so let us be optimistic. I also hope that reason will prevail and that the conflicting sides will sign the peace agreement in Geneva on 15 January."

I interviewed Vitaliy Churkin on 27 December in his office of first deputy foreign minister of Russia on the seventh floor of the high rise at the Smolenskaya Square in Moscow, built immediately after World War II. Only two days had passed since Churkin's return from the peace talks in Geneva and Brussels, and he was still under the impression of their unsuccessful ending, although the peace plan was "very close" to being signed. I first asked him if a positive move had been made after all toward resolving the crisis in Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia. He replied:

[Churkin] A positive move has been made, but I have the feeling that we have again come to the point at which things can be stalled and negotiations continued, but an end to the negotiations cannot be seen. If 99 percent of the contentious issues have therefore been agreed upon and if there is a desire for peace, I see no reason for not signing the peace plan.

[Lacmanovic] Vitaliy Ivanovich, does that mean that you also believe that the Croat and Serb sides have granted enough concessions to the Muslims?

[Churkin] It seems that the Muslims have not accepted the agreement and the formula that the European Union has proposed for their access—that is, exit —to the Adriatic Sea. In Geneva, Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic agreed upon the parameters important for the agreement: 17.5 percent of the territory to the Croats, 33.3 percent to the Muslims, and 49.2 percent to the Serbs, while the Serbs and the Muslims still have to agree upon the details on the map. In my opinion, it was possible to sign the peace agreement in Brussels on the basis of the formula proposed by Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic, and the negotiations on disputed details should have been continued. This mechanism of finishing the peace plan is contained in the document that all three sides initialed this fall on the British aircraft carrier near Split. That was the reason I, as an observer, asked for permission to speak at the meeting in Brussels and suggested to the conflicting sides that they sign the peace agreement immediately and then continue the negotiations on the disputable or unresolved issues.

[Lacmanovic] The Muslims have obviously turned their back on your proposal.

[Churkin] In Brussels, I was amazed to see that this side first rejected the plan proposed by the European Union and then dared to say: Since this plan is not acceptable, let us seek and elaborate on another variant. A thousand and one variants of, for instance, an exit to the sea can be made. Channels, tunnels, or new roads to the sea can be constructed, but I am now asking where the guarantees are that this thousand and one variant will then be accepted.

This is why I proposed in Brussels that in case any of the conflicting sides (which need not be the Serb one) blocks the peace process, the conditions of suspending the sanctions be elaborated to the minutest detail and that there be no waiting for the final signing of the peace agreement. I would like to stress that this is a matter of precisely arranged conditions for lifting the sanctions. It is my opinion that our proposal is also in the interest of Croatia and that Zagreb should understand it correctly and accept it. I believe that this proposal concerning the sanctions suits all the conflicting sides in Bosnia, where I also include the Muslims, whose aim it is that the agreement be reached and that the peace plan be signed.

[Lacmanovic] You have said that the signing of the agreement in Brussels was "very close." Exactly what was it that remained disputed?

[Churkin] Apart from the access to the sea for the Muslims, they also claim that the offered access at Prevlaka would require the construction of a road that would be too expensive, and there are also some disputed issues concerning Mostar, while between the Muslims and Serbs, there are some disputed details concerning Sarajevo and the widening of their access to the Sava River.

[Lacmanovic] Vitaliy Ivanovich, do you believe that Croatia could really offer the Muslims some better access or exit to the sea than what President Tudjman has offered now in Geneva, without this concession being quite unacceptable to the interests of the Croatian state?

[Churkin] It is hard for me to judge. This is an extremely difficult and complex issue. I did not dwell on it too much, distancing myself from the position of the European Union. It seemed to me that the first variant, which was elaborated on the British aircraft carrier, satisfied everyone. It turned out later that I was wrong. I have the impression that this problem is not being considered with due attention. I repeat: If there is a sincere desire to reach an agreement, then there is no reason not to sign it. How the ships will sail and similar issues are technical details. It seems that everything is being made to go in circles.

[Lacmanovic] An increasing number of unbiased analysts and commentators have concluded that the Muslim leadership presents new demands at each new meeting in order to make the negotiations more difficult, when behind all this lies their rejection of the plan on the territorial division and Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of three peoples. While you were attending the negotiations in Brussels, the Bosnia-Herzegovina ambassador in Russia told Moscow TV that Bosnia was indivisible and that it should remain an integral state.

[Churkin] Everyone knows that among the Muslims, there are people who do not like the present peace plan

and who are persistently trying to create the illusion that there is no conflict in the Bosnian war—that is, that there is no conflict of interests. They think it is possible to "roll back" the present situation in Bosnia to the beginning. This is not possible, and if we were to concentrate on these people, the war in Bosnia would continue forever.

I believe that the tragedy of the Muslims is being made worse by the fact that they are trying to extend the war. They think that in this way, they will reach their goal—a united Bosnia- Herzegovina. However, they are neglecting the fact that the longer the war lasts, the further their ideals are from reality. The continuation of war raises new barriers among the people. The sooner the war is ended, the more chance there will be of strengthening the relations that connect and unite the Muslims, Serbs, and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Lacmanovic] Some analysts explain the present Muslim actions at the negotiations by the alleged support of the United States. Even Lord Owen, after the unsuccessful negotiations in Brussels, blamed Washington for the "idealist" approach to the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Churkin] I have not seen this statement and will, therefore, not comment on it. However, since you have asked an extremely important question, I will answer it, although not directly because of my diplomatic role in the entire conflict.

First, I would like to emphasize that the culprits for the conflict should not be sought outside but within the entire former Yugoslavia. All the conflicting sides are to blame and not someone else or someone besides them, especially since so much blood has been spilled. Naturally, external factors also play a role in that conflict. I personally believe that the peace agreement has not been signed in Brussels because the international community was not decisive enough for the task it was faced with: to bring the job to the end. To put an end to the endless meetings and negotiations, it would take the decisiveness of the European Union, Russia, and the United States. If the other international forces had been as determined in Brussels as Russia was, the peace agreement would have been signed there. The Russian position is that, because of the danger that the conflict in Bosnia brings, the peace plan should be signed immediately. If not today, then tomorrow.

[Lacmanovic] At the meeting in Brussels, you presented some proposals regarding the solving of Croat-Serb relations.

[Churkin] Yes, I welcomed the progress achieved in the negotiations between Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic a day earlier and asked both sides to immediately start working on the formula for the mutual recognition of the FRY and Croatia and on establishing diplomatic relations, which would ultimately result in solving and determining the final political status of the Croatian territory with the Serb majority. Our plan has several stages: the first is reaching an agreement on ending armed conflicts, and then the two sides establishing the first degree of economic relations (for the start, opening the traffic on the Belgrade-Zagreb road). What could follow is the mutual recognition of the two states and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Belgrade and Zagreb, which would facilitate a constant dialogue, and, most importantly, all this would open the door to the last and most important stage, which is the resolving of the fundamental problem—that is, the political status of the Krajina.

I would like to point out that when I talked to President Tudjman about this sequence and plan for resolving the Croat-Serb relations, I did not have the impression that he was not accepting it. Therefore, this idea should now be elaborated upon.

[Lacmanovic] However, Milosevic and the Serb leadership have not agreed to the diplomatic recognition of Croatia because they do not want to or think that this way they can dispute the Croatian state borders.

[Churkin] The Serb leaders did not tell me their reasons, but I also think that this is the issue and that they do not want to separately consider the situation in the Croatian areas with a Serb majority called the Krajina. In the present situation, when there are only attempts to negotiate a cease-fire in Croatia and the establishment of the first economic relations, it is unrealistic to expect that Belgrade will start working on the diplomatic recognition of Croatia. However, from a diplomatic point of view, it would be good (and it is possible) to find a way that would, for instance, allow for appointing ambassadors. The most important thing now is to find a viable formula that would open the door to the final goal—determining the political status of the Croatian areas with a Serb majority.

[Lacmanovic] Does this viable formula imply the creation of a "state within a state"—that is, the establishment of Croatia as a federation?

[Churkin] You must be referring to the interview I gave to one of the Zagreb papers last summer. The correspondent asked me questions insisting on various formulations, to which I responded. It is up to the correspondent and the papers to interpret the conversation in a certain way and in a certain context, but I was not talking about a federation and a state within a state. My position was, and is now, that the Serbs in that area in Croatia should be given realist autonomy. It is up to the two sides to agree upon what the form of this autonomy will be and what it will be called. Therefore, what matters is content and not the formal title.

[Lacmanovic] Croatia has already made the greatest possible step in that direction. This fall, President Tudjman proposed autonomy for two Serb districts in his peace initiative.

[Churkin] I consider President Tudjman's first step extremely important and positive. The most important

thing is that the two sides now start a process of negotiation based on this peace initiative. To be honest, I do not think that President Tudjman's positive proposal will remain his last step in seeking the solution to the problem. It will take a lot more effort before the political status of this region in Croatia is solved.

[Lacmanovic] Is that the reason you practically started the initiative to implement the "modus vivendi" formula, which the European Union proposed for the Croatian territories controlled by rebel Serbs?

[Churkin] A good idea or a plan usually has many authors. I would like to remind you that this summer, I managed to organize a meeting of the representatives of Croatian authorities and the Knin Serbs in Topusko, at which the negotiations on a cease-fire and establishing economic relations were first started.

[Lacmanovic] Does your initiative in Brussels mean that the Russian side believes the Croat-Serb contradictions can be solved without untying the Bosnian knot first?

[Churkin] Why not? It would be useful. The latest meeting of Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic in Geneva has shown that this is also possible.

[Lacmanovic] Croatia is convinced that a peaceful agreement with the Serbs is not possible if the sanctions against Belgrade, which supports and encourages the separatism of the Knin Serbs, are lifted. However, Russia persistently supports the lifting of the sanctions against Serbia.

[Churkin] First, the sanctions are not only damaging Serbia but the entire geopolitical region around it, and it is impossible to keep the sanctions in effect forever. Second, the sanctions were introduced as an instrument that should lead to a peaceful agreement on Bosnia. It would be unrealistic to expect that this agreement can be reached without having informed the Serbs of the exact conditions for lifting the sanctions.

I know that the Croat side would like the lifting of the sanctions to be directly connected to the solving of the problem of its territory controlled by the Serbs. The Russian position on this issue is strictly a matter of principle. As a member of the Security Council, Russia's position is that this body should act in a legalist way. In this specific case, this means: The sanctions against Serbia were introduced because of the situation in Bosnia- Herzegovina, and if this conflict is solved, the sanctions should be lifted. During the negotiations on the British aircraft carrier, the three conflicting sides agreed upon the conditions for lifting the sanctions. According to the final account, the solving of the Bosnian problem will pave the way to the gradual normalization of the Croat-Serb contradictions, and this is precisely why I would like to ask the Croat side to consider the problem of the sanctions in its complexity.

[Lacmanovic] Vitaliy Ivanovich, I am certain that you are aware of the fact that you and your statements are frequently a target of severe criticism in the Croatian press.

[Churkin] I am not only attacked in Croatia. I am attacked by the Serb and Muslim side, too. This is not surprising. In a way, I am proud of it, as it confirms my belief that I am carrying out my diplomatic tasks objectively. I have no anti-Croat, anti-Serb, or anti-Muslim tendencies. I have visited nearly all the areas of conflict, and I know how difficult it is to determine who is the angel and who is the devil.

This year, I have spent 190 days traveling, and the vast majority of these trips was connected to seeking peace for the territories of the former Yugoslavia. I spent at least 300 hours on a plane. That is two weeks. I visited Zagreb five times this year.

I still claim that Russian policies are very balanced in relation to all the sides of the former Yugoslavia. During my visit to Croatia, I discovered that the people were very friendly to me. Russian-Croatian state relations are good, and all the conditions for strengthening the economic relations between our countries exist.

'Indignation' Expressed Over Russians' Murder in Tajikistan

LD0501152294 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Report by Valeriy Vinogradov ; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a statement of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation, which states: The leadership of the Russian Federation has received with profound grief and indignation the report of the brutal murders carried out in recent days in Tajikistan of Russian-speaking citizens—a deacon of the Orthodox Church, a whole family including five children, and a young woman resident of Dushanbe. We are firmly relying on the fact that the Tajikistan authorities will take the most energetic measures in investigating what has happened and in speedily identifying and suitably punishing the murderers. We also expect that the Government of Tajikistan will do everything necessary to ensure the security and the protection of the rights and dignity of the Russian-speaking citizens of the republic.

Delegation To Visit Georgia To Discuss Abkhazia

LD0501120094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1046 GMT 5 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Schegoleva]

[Text] Sochi January 5 TASS—A Russian Foreign Ministry delegation with Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov at its head flew into the Adler Airport of

Sochi today. The delegation includes Valeriy Shuykov, head of the Russian part of the Abkhazia settlement united commission.

"We plan to visit several areas of Abkhazia, including the Galski and Sukhumi, hold talks with the republic's leadership and meet public representatives," Boris Pastukhov told journalists at the Sochi airport. Pastukhov noted that the second round of the Georgian-Abkhazian talks is scheduled to open in Geneva on January 11 which are to be held under the auspices of the United Nations and active participation of Russia. Members of the Russian delegation have recently visited Tbilisi with the aim of preparating for these talks. They held a number of meetings with the Georgian leadership. "Russia, as before, intends to fulfil its mission, seeking a full political settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict," Pastukhov emphahsised.

Replying to a question regarding the abolishment of economic sanctions against Abkhazia, Boris Pastukhov told ITAR-TASS that assertions regarding the abolishment of economic sanctions do not conform to reality. But at the same time, understanding the serious state of affairs in which the peaceful population is living in the zone of conflict, the Russian leadership is taking a number of measures which will help ease sanctions. For example, plans for supplying foodstuffs and fuels.

The Russian delegation plans to return to Moscow on Thursday.

Motives for Lifting of Blockade on Abkhazia Viewed

MK0401120094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 3

[Igor Rotar report under the "Conflict" rubric: "Economic Blockade of Abkhazia Has Been Lifted. Men in Tbilisi Abstain From Comment"]

[Text] Russia has ended its economic blockade of Abkhazia. As has been explained to your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent at the Russian Foreign Ministry CIS Department, Moscow's decision is the result of the following considerations: The leaders of Abkhazia have been of late demonstrating their readiness for a dialogue with Tbilisi and taking specific steps toward a peaceful settlement of the situation in the conflict zone. Besides, it is primarily civilians, including Russians, who are suffering from the blockade. In the opinion of Russian diplomats, the lifting of the blockade shortly before the new year will be assessed as Moscow's goodwill gesture and will contribute to the stabilization of the situation in the region.

From the point of view of Abkhaz leader Vladislav Ardzinba, Russia's blockade of Abkhazia contravened the Geneva agreement signed by Moscow. (One of the items in the document says: "The sides appeal to the international community for assistance in restoring the life-support systems in the zone of conflict....")

The problem, however, has a reverse side too. Russia, as a guarantor of the Sochi agreement, is responsible for any violation of the understandings by the Abkhaz side. Significantly, in his interview for your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent, Andrei Kozyrev did not deny facts attesting to Russian Army help to the Abkhaz people. The blockade of Abkhazia demonstrated to the world community, albeit not too convincingly, that Moscow condemned the violators of the Sochi agreement. The lifting of the blockade in effect consolidates the victory for Abkhaz military formations and, as a consequence, will lead to even an greater anti-Russian mood in Georgia. True, at this stage, as your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent was told at the Georgian Embassy, Tbilisi officials refrain from assessing the event.

Also rather interesting is the fact that Moscow has made up its mind to lift the blockade despite the fact that there was after all no real progress in the settlement of the Abkhaz crisis. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has already reported (21 December 1993) that the problem of refugees from Abkhazia had been the main stumbling block in the talks between Tbilisi and Gudauta: the Abkhaz side insists that the republic's status be determined in a referendum. Today, as an overwhelming majority of Georgians have left Abkhazia, a referendum, according to Tbilisi, will not be legitimate. As Vladislav Ardzinba stated in an interview with your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent, the republic's leaders today cannot guarantee the safety of Georgian refugees who would like to return, hence the question of the republic's status is being shelved once again. Also, your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent, who has just returned from Abkhazia, can testify that the remaining Georgian population in the republic is continuing to be plundered.

Moscow's position would have been explicable had it rejected the blockade idea right away on the grounds that it was unwilling to punish innocent civilians. As for Moscow's present decision, there may be only two explanations: Either Russia has realized it made yet another mistake, or the decision to institute economic sanctions had been no more than a trick aimed at pacifying the world community.

Chernomyrdin, Armenia's Bagratyan Hold Closed Meeting

LD0401210794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1925 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] A closed meeting of Russian and Armenian delegations headed by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and his Armenian counterpart, Grant Bagratyan, was held in the government building on the Krasnopresnenskaya embankment today.

Armenian Ambassador to Russia Feliks Mamikoniyan, who also took part in the negotiations, told Interfax that the meeting focused on a package of agreements which had been meant to be agreed on rather than signed. "As a result, the

differences between the Russian and Armenian sides were settled," the diplomat pointed out. Mamikoniyan stressed that "Armenia did not take the role of an supplicant; it was a tough, but good-natured talk between two partners, each with its own capabilities."

Commenting on the draft bilateral trade and economic agreement for 1994, Mamikoniyan said "a mechanism for settling differences was found." The ambassador added that the differences were over Yerevan's settlements of payments for Russian clearing deliveries of goods. He said "Armenia has funds to pay, but the country finds itself in a transportation blockade."

According to Mamikoniyan, the Russian prime minister spoke against the proposal by the Russian concern "Roskontrakt" to transform Armenia's debt for Russian oil worth 40 billion rubles into Russia's state debt and enable this commercial organization to independently look for ways to settle the payments issue with its partners.

Mamikoniyan said the Russian side treated with understanding the request to grant a humanitarian credit worth 10 billion rubles to Armenia to enable it to reconstruct the facilities in the area hit by an earthquake in December 1998. The meeting also discussed granting 23 out of 40 billion rubles of the Russian state credit to Armenia in 1993 that have never been used.

According to Mamikoniyan, Yerevan proposed setting up a joint venture with Russia to exploit the Armenian nuclear power station which is now under reconditioning and prepared for launch. The two sides agreed to prepare a draft intergovernmental agreement on the issue.

Russian Forces To Be Out of Germany by 31 Aug

LD0401214194 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 1700 GMT 4 Jan 94

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Russian troops are to be finally withdrawn from Germany by 31 August 1994, said Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces, at a meeting in Wuensdorf with Manfred Stolpe, president of Brandenburg land. During the meeting both sides agreed on joint efforts for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Brandenburg, including from Wuensdorf, where the headquarters of the Western Group of Forces is situated.

Clinton To Back Guarantees for Investors in Truck Firm

PM0501152094 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 94 p 6

[ITAR-TASS report: "'AMOZIL' Heavy Trucks"]

[Text] New York, 4 Jan—During his upcoming visit to Moscow U.S. President Bill Clinton intends to sign documents making it incumbent on the U.S. Government overseas private investment corporation to grant credit guarantees and insurance against political risk to the "Packard" and "Caterpillar" companies.

"Packard" and "Caterpillar" recently announced their wish to participate on a joint basis with the Russian ZIL production association to create new heavy trucks. The documents which are planned to be signed during the summit meeting are to ensure the start of the successful functioning of a new joint venture, "AMOZIL," and safeguard U.S. entrepreneurs against financial losses.

An official spokesman for the overseas private investment corporation stressed that U.S. President B. Clinton and Vice President A. Gore very much want to see this venture succeed, since they believe that the development of transportation is a key element in Russian economic recovery. He also noted that the plan provides not only for the construction of a new truck plant near Moscow, but also for the creation of a network of stores and truck maintenance centers.

According to the leaders of the U.S. companies, truck production is planned to start at the end of next year. According to the agreement concluded between ZIL, "Packard," and "Caterpillar," the U.S. partners will produce chassis and engines and the Russian plant will produce bodies for the heavy truck.

Fraud Cases Show Need for Treaties With U.S.

PM0501094994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 94 First Edition p 8

[Vadim Belykh report: "Four Hundred Years in Jail for Defrauding 'Rosugol'"]

[Text] A federal court in Oklahoma has found the American lawyer David Branson guilty of defrauding the Russian Government to the tune of $1.3 million. The fraudster, convicted on 50 counts, faces a 400-year jail sentence.

The Bricklayer Lawyer

In our country the best of intentions usually end in major scandals, court cases, and monstrous losses. But the "Ugol Rossii" Corporation (successor to the "Rosugol" state company) could hardly have imagined in its worst nightmare that its quite innocent desire to have two brick plants in Moscow Oblast's Serebryanoprudskiy Rayon would suddenly be transformed into a court case in what was, for it, the hitherto unknown Oklahoma City and that it would have to appear as the injured party.

The idea was indeed to build these ill-starred plants to help miners in the Arctic who had been pensioned off. Arriving in warm Serebryanyye Prudy from the cold north, they would get a job at these plants and then receive housing built from bricks made with their own hands. It was decided to buy all the necessary equipment

abroad. The tenders from major European and American firms were rejected at the outset as too expensive. Then the Oklahoma lawyer David Branson popped up from out of the blue.

It is still a mystery as to who put the fraudster lawyer in touch with the "Ugol Rossii" leadership and how he was able to captivate the management. After all, until that time Branson had, by all accounts, only a rather vague idea about the brick manufacturing process, and his firm—Consolidated Service Corporation, which, according to him, had received the prestigious "E" award from the U.S. Department of Commerce—was only registered after signing the contract with our Russian businessmen.

On the other hand, the lawyer promised to build the two brick plants in Serebryanoprudskiy Rayon for just $4.395 billion [as published]. In order to appear more convincing, he organized several trips for "Rosugol" representatives to the United States and South Africa, where, in an atmosphere of easygoing service, he took the tourists to visit other firms' plants producing brickmaking equipment, and passed them off as his own. The Russian officials' hearts melted, the contract was signed, and Branson was paid $1.3 million as an advance against future deliveries. The owner of Consolidated Service Corporation did not need any particular creativity to spend of the money. He vacationed in Hawaii and bought a fully furnished house and nine collector's-item automobiles. Another $100,000 went on dispatching several tie rods to the Moscow region....

Admittedly, "Rosugol" suspected that something was amiss but, fearing a scandal, preferred to extend the dubious contract in the hope of at least getting something more out of America. Unfortunately, it hoped in vain. Who knows how long all this would have gone on had the scandal not broken in the United States.

Overdoing Things By 400 Years

Initially local businessmen asked questions. In [illegible]g off our naive compatriots, Branson had overdone [illegible]gs somewhat. He produced exclusively for the Russian market an advertising brochure on his firm with beautiful photographs of other plants, calling them the property of Consolidated Service Corporation. The amazement of the real owners, when they found out about this document, knew no bounds. And the U.S. Internal Revenue Service also took an interest in the lawyer's spending. As a result, David Branson was arrested, and the U.S. Justice Department appealed through the Russian General Prosecutor's Office to the Russian Federation MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Investigations Committee for help in investigating the case, which in principle affected us more than the Americans.

Nikolay Psyrkov, an investigator with the Administration for the Investigation of Particularly Important Cases, did all that his U.S. colleagues needed—he questioned witnesses and participants in the events and visited the empty site in Serebryanoprudskiy Rayon which had been carefully prepared for the construction of the plants promised by the lawyer. Then, taking with him as the main victim Valeriy Zaydenvark, deputy general director of "Rosugol," traveled to Oklahoma to take part in the trial. The Russian investigator's professional job and the deputy general director's sorry story made an indelible impression on the Oklahoma jury. David Branson was found guilty on 50 counts. In January he faces a total of 400 years' imprisonment. Following the confiscation and sale of the brickmaker lawyer's property, Russia should get back around $400,000 of the $1.3 million it lost in advance payments.

The Americans will be getting something too—help from the Russian Federation MVD's Investigations Committee in investigating an affair that has cost the U.S. medical insurance system $1 billion....

Jacobo Martinez Greenberg, or a Personal Magnet

It would be naive to imagine that our emergent homegrown version of capitalism would suffer from intrigues by foreign adventurists without retaliating. Former Soviet citizens who now have the world as their oyster have been making money in the most unexpected situations with an inventiveness hard for Westerners to grasp. One such situation perpetrated a cynical and outrageous crime against the much-vaunted U.S. medical insurance system.

The leaders of the sinister operation were three natives of the former Soviet Union. The leader was Mikhail Smushkevichus—aka Moss, aka Jacobo Martinez Greenberg, aka Ivan Pavlov Sanchez—and his two henchmen Michael (Mikhail Grigoryevich) Fayman and Feliks Kolgovskiy. In their former homeland they were known as the organizers of a firm to provide Soviet citizens with jobs abroad. Attractive employers' "contracts" were sold all over at the time. As a result, none of the 500,000 people who took the tempting bait actually went abroad—but Jacobo Martinez Greenberg did, along with his "comrades" and the startup capital for his next business.

Basing themselves in Los Angeles, they set up a network of mobile diagnostic centers and around 300 bogus companies, and opened a huge number of accounts. This entire armada was targeted against the U.S. medical insurance system. The actual ins and outs of the affair are relatively complicated, and we will not go into them. But the results were stunning. The swindlers earned more than $50 million in pure profit, and the damage they have done is estimated at $1 billion.

Today they are all under investigation, and each faces a total of up to 1,500 years in jail. Nobody knows where the stolen millions are, but the Americans believe them to be in Russia or Lithuania.

No Money Without a Treaty

Nikolay Psyrkov, the investigator with the Russian MVD Investigations Committee's Administration for

the Investigation of Particularly Important Cases, to whom we spoke on his return from the United States, pointed to his office safe:

"There are several files in there, files on the embezzlement of $33 million, $10 million, and one for $50 million. There is a pretty standard operating procedure. Someone does the job, the money is put in foreign banks, and they leave the country. And in each case it is virtually impossible to get the stolen money back to Russia or to bring the fraudster himself to trial...."

Unfortunately, the success in investigating the Branson and Smushkevichus-Greenberg affairs was possible only thanks to the personal ties between Russian and American investigators and so-called cooperation by agreement—under the "you scratch our back" principle. In a number of other cases this simply does not apply. Strangely enough, we have concluded treaties on legal help in investigating criminal cases with just 17 countries, mainly in the former socialist camp. No documents have yet been signed with the main countries where our economic refugees usually hide and where our criminal structures keep their capital—the United States, Austria, and Britain. In this situation it is impossible to track movements of stolen money through bank accounts, spending, or the sources of criminal financial operations; consequently, it is also impossible to prove that crimes have been committed....

Today all requests for help on specific criminal cases in the United States, for instance, have a long, hard route to travel—from the MVD Investigations Committee to the General Prosecutor's Office to the Foreign Ministry to the embassy to the U.S. Justice Department; three or four months are quite enough for criminals to hide money and go into hiding themselves. The same thing happens in reverse too. Suffice it to say that our investigators received the request for help on the Branson case directly. The official request only arrived through the usual channels when Nikolay Psyrkov, having done everything necessary, was setting off for the trial in Oklahoma.

But even personal contacts will not save us. The gaps in criminal legislation are too big. How can we explain to Western colleagues that someone is under investigation for suspicion of what is still called "embezzlement of socialist property?" Or that he has been charged under Article 147 of the Russian Criminal Code with "fraud," which the Americans break down into 20 separate crimes? Nor are things clear regarding the return of stolen property from abroad. When it is simply a matter of money, everything is more or less understandable, but when that money has been invested in shares, land, or real estate the waters are much muddier.

I was told at the Investigations Committee that they themselves had tried to clarify why treaties on legal assistance in criminal cases are taking so long to conclude. They had found themselves in a Bermuda Triangle among the Foreign Ministry, the General Prosecutor's Office, and the Justice Department. Nobody in these three departments was able to say anything convincing—they just sent you on to the next one. And that was the end of the matter. Yet, while officials are thrashing things out, the land of democratic reforms is simply a paradise for both Russian and foreign fraudsters. The main thing is to get out of the country with your loot in time. Once out, you can take things easy.

First Exercise With Kuwaiti Navy Ends in Gulf

LD0401151694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1258 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Yelistratov]

[Text] Cairo January 4 TASS—The first joint exercise of Kuwaiti and Russian naval forces ended in the Persian Gulf on Tuesday. The exercise lasting 12 days involved several Kuwaiti warships as well as a large anti-submarine ship, the Admiral Vinogradov, a large landing ship, the Nikolay Vilkov, and an auxiliary vessel of the Russian Navy.

The exercise was carried out in conformity with a treaty on joint defence between the two countries which was concluded late last November.

According to military observers, it was conducted at a high professional level. All tasks set forth before the crews were successfully fulfilled.

Referring to a statement by the spokesman of the Kuwaiti Defence Ministry, the Sawt al-Arab radio station reported on Tuesday that preparations are now in progress to conduct another Kuwaiti-Russian exercise which will involve all services—the navies, air forces and land troops.

Naval Commander Comments

LD0401223494 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Admiral Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of the Russian Navy, has summed up the results of the first Russian-Kuwaiti naval exercises, which were held off the coast of Kuwait at the end of last year. At a meeting with journalists on his return from the amirate, Admiral Gromov stated that the maneuvers were successful, actions of all the subunits were assessed as positive, and the tasks of the exercises were fulfilled.

Feliks Gromov noted that the maneuvers were held within the context of strengthening relations between the two countries and were aimed at increasing Kuwait's defense capability.

Oil Workers 'Helping To Pay Vietnam's Debts'

PM0401145194 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 23 Dec 93

[Report from Vietnam by V. Konnov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Konnov] A great deal has changed, both in our own country and in the countries of the former socialist camp. The stormy debate about who owes whom more has subsided. The bombastic statements about proletarian internationalism and fraternal assistance have disappeared. What remains is business as usual. In this respect the Vietsovpetro Russian-Vietnamese joint venture has stood the test of time. Established a decade ago, it produced its first oil in 1986. And recently workers were being congratulated in the terse language of posters on the achievement of having extracted 20 million tonnes of oil. The banner slogans may look somewhat naive and old-fashioned today, but they must not obscure the main point: An entire community of Russian oil workers is living and working in the south of Vietnam. Oil extraction is helping to pay Vietnam's debts. And yields are rising.

A new floating rig is being readied for dispatch here. It is intended for the White Dragon deposit—the richest oil deposit on Vietnam's south coast.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Releases Officials From Duties

LD0401163194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1551 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jan (IRAR-TASS)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has signed decrees releasing Sergey Yushenkov, Mikhail Mityukov, Mikhail Poltoranin, and Yekaterina Lakhova from their duties in connection with their election as deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly. The Russian Federation president's press service has reported this.

By a decree of the Russian President, Valeriy Butov, the president's representative in Maritime Kray, has also been released from his post.

Stepankov Fired

LD0401180394 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Jan 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] During a news conference in Omsk today, Russian Federation Procurator General Aleksey Kazannik also said he has signed a decree on sacking his predecessor, Valentin Stepankov, from the procuracy bodies. His participation in corruption is currently under investigation by the Moscow Procuracy.

At the same time, similar material regarding former Security Minister Viktor Barannikov and Deputy Interior Minister Andrey Dunayev has already been checked, and criminal charges of corruption are to be laid against them soon.

Foreign Ministry Personnel Changes

LD0401170894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1618 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By Diplomatic Correspondents Dmitry Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoi and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] The forecast about personnel changes in Russia's Foreign Ministry, published by INTERFAX on New Year's eve, has been completely realized. On December 30, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin endorsed the appointment of three deputy foreign ministers.

Russia's former ambassador to Spain, Igor Ivanov, has been appointed to the post of first deputy foreign minister. The other deputy foreign ministers are Albert Chernyshov, ex-ambassador to Turkey, and Aleksandr Panov, ex-ambassador to the Republic of Korea. Panov has been replaced by former deputy foreign minister Georgiy Kunadze.

According to INTERFAX sources, Chernyshov and Panov will be in charge of Asian affairs (Panov - Japan and Asian and Pacific Region, and Chernyshov - the Middle East).

The letter of resignation handed to President Yeltsin by former first deputy foreign minister Anatoliy Adamishin following his election to the State Duma as a representative of the Yavlinskiy- Boldyrev-Lukin bloc makes it unclear what Ivanov will do, said a high-ranking Russian diplomat.

He said that according to initial plans, Kozyrev was to have two first deputies - Adamishin and Ivanov, the latter to be in charge of Europe. Now that Adamishin has decided to quit the Foreign Ministry, Ivanov's responsibilities are likely to be enlarged, he said.

In his opinion, the vacancy will be filled soon.

"Practice shows that the minister must have two first deputies," he added.

He found it difficult to say who exactly will become one of Kozyrev's first deputies. "The situation will become clear next week, when Kozyrev will resume his work following a brief leave," he said.

He also noted that the personnel changes should not be perceived as an alarm signal. "It is normal practice, allowing diplomats to develop," said the Russian diplomat.

More Officials Dismissed

LD0501101394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0940 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Text] Moscow, January 5 (TASS)—The Russian Government dismissed Pyotr Chernomord from the post of deputy finance minister in connection "with a transfer to another job".

Aleksandr Aleshin was dismissed from the post of the first deputy communication minister "at his request".

The government decided to institute yet another post of first deputy social security minister and Lyudmila Bezlepkina was appointed to occupy it.

Government Relocates To Restored White House

PM0401170794 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 94 First Edition pp 1, 8

[Interview with Vladimir Kvasov, chief of the Russian Federation Government apparatus, by Ruslan Ignatyev "in a White House reception room"; date not given: "Russian Government Moves to White House. Yesterday the Russian Federation Government Moved from Staraya Ploshchad to the Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment Building. Today Work Has Begun in the New Residence"]

[Text] ...Trucks are driving up to the entrances of the White House regularly, according to a timetable. Boxes and paper sacks are being unloaded. These contain

books, documents, office equipment, computers—in a word, everything that is needed for work. And it is not only the loaders who are heaving the sacks about. It is unusual to see government apparatus staff, including high-ranking officials, in jeans and sweaters rather than ties. But moving is moving.

Following the latest batch of packages, I go up to the fifth floor, the "premier's" floor. Some people are moving tables, others are already working almost normally. After all, there is no time to waste making it habitable. That is why the move was scheduled for a holiday—3 January.

Something else is also unusual—the complete absence of the 1940's and 1950's style, which perhaps could not be transferred from the corridors of Staraya Ploshchad. Here the furniture provides a modern business style. With the possible exception of the premier's office, where the furniture is imitation antique—refined and at the same time sturdy. By and large it is not without its splendor, which I believe the head of government of a great power can afford to indulge in.

The reception room is several times larger than the one on Staraya Ploshchad. This is not just for the representatives. There are tables and chairs for visitors. In the old building they had to wait in the corridor.

It was here that I met Vladimir Kvasov, leader of the Russian Federation Government apparatus.

[Ignatyev] Vladimir Petrovich, the mass media has reported that the Russian government is apparently not all that keen to move to the White House and that the Federal Assembly wants to get hold of the former Russian Federation Supreme Soviet apartments for itself. But you are moving.

[Kvasov] Yes, the new parliament did appeal to the president about this. However, the president stated unequivocally that he would not change his decision. The point is that the Federal Assembly is not the successor of the former parliament (by the president's edict, the government is). This is a completely new state formation, and so its claims to the property, organizations, and publications of the former Russian Supreme Soviet are not legitimate. If you remember, back on 5 October of this year the president signed Edict No. 1586, which says: "The buildings at No. 2 Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment and No. 2 Rochdelskaya Ulitsa in the city of Moscow city are designated the official residence of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government." Incidentally, this complex was originally built for the RSFSR Council of Ministers. It provided for literally everything in respect of government activity. Today an enormous amount of work has been carried out to restore the buildings, and the necessary conditions have been created for the functioning of the new residence. So the Russian Government has had no doubts in connection with the move to Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment.

[Ignatyev] What has been done in the White House in the past three months?

[Kvasov] Following the well-known events, as you know, the complex suffered a great deal of damage. The builders were faced with a complex task: They had not only to carry out major repairs to the structure, they had to modernize it. The buildings were constructed a long time ago, so many communications systems had fallen into disrepair. Furthermore, the former Supreme Soviet had partially changed the internal layout. Many areas had been partitioned off and turned into tiny rooms. In a word, the entire complex had to be returned to its original form, as the architect conceived it, and the builders dealt with this very well.

[Ignatyev] Were there any changes made during the present reconstruction?

[Kvasov] First and foremost the ordinary windows and stained glass windows were replaced by sun protection glass. Because of poor ventilation it used to be very hot in the premises, particularly in the summer. A new air conditioning system has now been installed. All stories are equipped with state of the art fire extinguishing equipment. Extra telephone lines have been laid and the old ones have been repaired. Two large canteens have been built. These are on the sixth and seventh floors. Three snack bars have been opened. Several other eating areas are planned. The interiors have been completely renewed. The inside of the building has become smarter and more modern.

[Ignatyev] How did the builders manage to cope with such a large amount of work in such a short space of time?

[Kvasov] The restoration work went on day and night. Over 5,000 people took part in it. These included 2,000 specialists representing two Turkish firms. First-class builders were employed. Not all of the work has been finished, however. The complex has been divided into two parts: The six-story building and the high-rise 20-story one. The first has already been fully commissioned, and the second will be finished within the next two weeks. At the moment 12 stories are in use. The others still have to be brought up to the mark, so to speak.

[Ignatyev] Has the government moved fully into the new building?

[Kvasov] No, the prime minister and all of his deputies have moved in first and foremost. The government services are also installed at the new address. But it only proved possible to locate some of the apparatus. Ten departments are still in their old locations at the moment. They will move gradually, as soon as the restoration work is completed. I think that the entire government apparatus will move to Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment in January.

[Ignatyev] Who has moved into the former speaker's office?

[Kvasov] We know that Khasbulatov resided in the office of the former RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman. All the government leaders worked in it in their time—Vorotnikov, Silayev. Now Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin has now occupied it by right.

[Ignatyev] So where are the prime minister's apartments located?

[Kvasov] They are on the fifth floor. The government Presidium conference hall is there too. There are also several small halls for holding conferences and for meetings with all kinds of delegations and foreign visitors. The chairman's apparatus services are next to them.

[Ignatyev] Who has moved into Rutskoy's old office?

[Kvasov] An ordinary department. I would like to note that a number of government subdepartments have moved into the six-story building, while the main services are in the high-rise block.

[Ignatyev] Are any premises envisaged for the Russian president?

[Kvasov] Yes, on the third story of the 20-story block a complex has been set up for the Russian president and his services. This is vital so that the president can work in closer contact with the government. He frequently has to attend government sittings and resolve operational questions.

[Ignatyev] Are there any plans for a reduction in the government apparatus?

[Kvasov] It is planned that the apparatus will be reduced by 20 percent. Certain ministries and subdepartments will be completely abolished. I cannot name them specifically at the moment. Work is going on in this sphere. But it can already be said for certain today that the departments which are obsolete in the present economic conditions will specifically be subject to reduction.

[Ignatyev] And the last question. Where will the Federal Assembly be located?

[Ignatyev] Evidently a special building will be erected for the new parliament. A piece of land will be designated and a competition for the best design will be announced. And the Federal Assembly will get its own complex within a few years. But for the time being it will work in the location already determined by the president's edict.

...Overnight the communications workers connected the government and special communications telephones in the new official residence. The government has begun its work.

Chernomyrdin Working at New Residence

LD0401140394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1137 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin Tuesday [4 January] has had the first official meeting at the government's new residence at Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment (former White House) with Bishop of Istra Arseny, vicar of the Holy Patriarch, as well as with members of the Moscow Eparchy Council. The Bishop has consecrated the building where the Russian government will work from now on.

The Premier will work in the study formerly occupied by the former Russian prime minister, Ivan Silayev, and then Boris Yeltsin. The recent occupant of the study was the former speaker of the Russian Parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov.

The Bishop of Istra blessed the activities of the premier and the government. Chernomyrdin has handed over to him two icons and added that over one thousand icons would be handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church later.

Taking part in the ceremony was the first Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets who, together with other government members, moved to the new study in the building at Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment.

A spokesman for the Council of Ministers has told Interfax that the new government residence has an office for President Yeltsin.

The building on the Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment will have previous telephone numbers for the government hot line. The telephone numbers for the cabinet members will change due to the building's being switched to a new automatic telephone network. At Staraya Square, the telephone numbers began with 206. Now the first three figures will be 205.

Electoral Commission Arranging Move

LD0401172494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1543 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—The Central Electoral Commission is presently making arrangements for the upcoming move to the White House government building, the former parliamentary residence.

Although the election campaign is over, the Central Electoral Commission is going ahead with its work, election officials stressed at their meeting on Tuesday. The Commission is now preparing a report on the election financing and the use of funds by candidates and election blocs. Arrangements are being made for elections in Russia's six constituencies where the December 12 poll was declared invalid.

But the main task to be tackled by the Central Electoral Commission is related to the presidential decree on measures to improve Russia's electoral system, Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov stressed in an interview with TASS. This document providing for transformation of the commission for the 1993 elections to the Federal

Assembly into a standing Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation "does not allow us to relax", Ryabov noted.

While drafting a law on elections in coordination with the Justice Ministry, the Central Electoral Commission will take into consideration all remarks made by individual candidates and parties. It will also head a system of commissions to be set up for holding elections tol power bodies of all levels in Russia's regions.

Problems, Resentment Noted

MK0501110094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jan 94 p 1

[Nikolay Badayev report under "Moving In" rubric, with general headline: "Like a Thief in the Night, the Russian Government Is Moving Its Stuff Into the White House"]

[Excerpts] The Russian Federation Government moved from Staraya Ploshchad to the building on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment yesterday. Work in the new residence has already begun. This was announced yesterday by Vladimir Kvasov, chief of the Russian Federation Government apparatus.

The first to move in, Vladimir Kvasov explained, was the prime minister and all of his deputies. Government services have also been located at the new address. But only part of the apparatus has been accommodated. Ruslan Khasbulatov's office has been occupied by Viktor Chernomyrdin, and Aleksandr Rutskoy's has been taken over by a general department. On the third level of the 20-story building a complex has been set up for the Russian president and his services. This is necessary so that the president could work in closer contact with the government.

Generally, there are plans to trim the government apparatus by 20 percent, Vladimir Kvasov said. Some ministries and subdivisions will be fully abolished. Today it can be said with certainty that subject to axing will be those departments that have outlived themselves in the present economic conditions. [passage omitted]

A department chief in the Russian Government, who declined to give his name, told POSTFACTUM that Gennadiy Burbulis, commenting on this event, categorically stated: "Just as they have moved in, so will they move out!" A former adviser to the Russian president, according to the official, said that in protest against the fact that the White House has not been turned over to the Duma the deputies will hold their first session out of doors.

The department chief also noted that as a result of the government's relocation the work of its apparatus will be paralyzed for at least half a month because there are not enough phones in the White House; there are also difficulties with government communication channels. All elevators operate well up to the sixth level, beyond which only some do. [passage omitted]

Deputies' Reaction Anticipated

PM0501125594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 94 First Edition pp 1,2

[Article by Sergey Chugayev: "Government on The Move"]

[Text] One of the chief events that nearly all politicians in Russia were expecting on the eve of the new year happened practically at the height of the festivities. The decision who will be the occupant of the Russian White House appears finally to have been made: The prime minister's secretariat and other government offices have already started to move to the building of the former Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

At the same time, we learn, the economic services of the president's administration are preparing to move into the premises that are being vacated in Staraya Square.

The plan that is taking shape, showing the locations of the country's supreme organs of authority, looks both familiar and symbolic. The government is increasing the distance between itself and the Kremlin, as if stressing thereby the trend toward autonomy. The familiar buildings in Staraya Square are being occupied by administrative structures whose official status is only very vaguely delineated in existing legislation but which, since the adoption of the Constitution, possess real power in the country, indeed the fullest power, including the potential to influence the government.

Essentially, the relocation of the federal authorities symbolizes the end of the creation of the new system of state government in Russia, predetermined by the adopted Constitution. A system of strong apparatus authority, in which not only all the executive structures are under the control of the president's administration. Suffice it to recall that approximately a month ago an administration of affairs was formed in the administration, and it has the right to dispose of federal property, including the buildings that house the federal legislative, executive, and judicial authorities. Judging by the recently published presidential edict on state service, the president's administration also decides the fate of all federal officials, not only government, but parliamentary and judicial as well.

Maybe this system will play a positive role at the present stage, in the situation connected with the results of the parliamentary elections. But there are too many fears that it could soon turn into a closed, self-sufficient system, intent only on remaining in power. In that event it is not particularly difficult to predict victory at future parliamentary and presidential elections for forces ideologically close to the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] or the Communists. As a voters' protest against the recreation of an essentially administrative edict model, which was supposed to have been eliminated once and for all following August 1991. But the chief paradox, it seems, is that such a victory would suit the system.

Obviously, the delay in the long-awaited presidential edict on the reorganization of the Council of Ministers should be viewed in this light, in the light of the fact that the new program for the government's activities will be determined not by the election results but by the results of the referendum, not by the distribution of forces in parliament but by the distribution of forces in the President's Administration's apparatus. The objective need for a reshuffle in the government is brought about by the results of the parliamentary elections. But the final decision will presumably be made after the official cause of the defeat has been found. When it has been established that the elections were lost either because of a split in the government, or because of a badly organized election campaign, or because of the government's incorrect economic policy. Essentially, though, it can be said that there is a struggle between the leadership of the President's Administration and the head of the government for control over the Council of Ministers.

But since the forces in this struggle can be regarded as approximately equal, consequently one should not really expect any major changes in personnel in the Cabinet of Ministers. You can be sure that that the number of vice premiers' posts will be significantly reduced. Probably to two or three. Of course, it is too early to talk about personalities, but there are grounds for believing that the distribution of forces that existed before the elections will be retained on the whole. So there is no reason to believe that after the reshuffle the government's activities will change significantly or, equally, that its economic policy will change significantly.

As far as one can judge from available information, all cadre decisions relating to changes in the government are planned to be made before parliament starts work. Thus presenting the deputies with a fait accompli, as in the case of the federal budget for 1994. It is not difficult to imagine what parliament's reaction will be. Deprived of a building and deprived of the right of control over government and budget, parliament is already programed for the role of center of the opposition to the executive.

Election Results To Be Handed Over to Parliament

LD0401155694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1408 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—The Central Electoral Commission will soon hand over to the Federal Assembly (Russian Parliament) documentation on the election results to the Federation Council (Upper Chamber) and the State Duma (Lower Chamber): Final lists of deputies to the two chambers, their personal files as well as all financial accounts. This work should be completed by the end of the current week, member of the Central Electoral Commission andrey Beloborodov told ITAR-TASS on Tuesday.

He noted that the Central Electoral Commission treats with understanding those lawmakers who have not decided whether to be members of parliament or to hold their present government posts.

"We do not prod legislators, since we understand that there will be government reshuffling, and it may turn out that some parliamentarians who will give up their seats in parliament, will later lose their government jobs," he noted.

At the same time Beloborodov stressed that those lawmakers who have not decided this question as yet, should remember that "the Central Electoral Commission should know for sure who will work at the new parliament by the first joint sitting of the two chambers which is to be held in the Kremlin next week," he noted.

Methods of Electing State Duma Leaders Discussed

LD0401172194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1542 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS— "One of the most difficult and sensitive problems is the election of leaders of the lower chamber of the Russian Parliament—the Duma," said Viktor Sheynis, coordinator of the commission for drawing up the agenda and forming the Duma's working bodies.

According to Sheynis, the commission plans to propose three ways to elect the speaker and chairmen of the parliamentary committees and their deputies. Sheynis described the first way as "traditional". It envisages the consecutive election of the State Duma's speaker and his assistants, the election of committee chairmen and their deputies, and then the adoption of corresponding procedural rules.

"The second way," he noted, "is the so-called 'minor package', when representatives of election alliances reach preliminary agreement on candidatures to the posts of Duma speaker and his assistants, who are to be elected simultaneously. In this case," Sheynis believes, "we get more leeway for manoeuvring in order to meet the interests of the majority of mps, if not all of them."

"The third way," Solovyev [name as received] stated, "is the 'larger package.'" He believes it is the most difficult one, but if "this work is completed before the first session of the State Duma on the basis of an agreement among election alliances, the Duma will be able to get down quickly to legislative work."

New Political Bloc Intends To Contest Local Elections

MK0501115094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jan 94 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "In Brief" column]

[Text] Moscow—As has become known, shortly before the New Year a steering group was formed to set up yet another bloc, tentatively called Center. It is expected that the bloc will incorporate representatives of all parties and organizations which either did not contest the 12 December elections or failed to pass one of their stages. The parties affiliated with the New Russia bloc are an exception. In particular this bloc will apparently include the Russian Social Democratic Center, the Russia Revival Union, the SPT, the PT [previous two expansions unknown], the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, the Democratic Party Moscow branch, and others. The new bloc intends to contest elections to local power bodies.

1,000 Journalists To Be Accredited to New Parliament

LD0401155994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1405 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS Correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—"About one thousand Russian and foreign journalists will be accredited at the new Russian parliament," ITAR-TASS Was told by head of the Federal Assembly's Press Centre Valentina Lantseva.

"Realising that the ardent desire of journalists to cover the work of our parliament reflects the Russian society's interest in its proceedings, we are doing our best to create proper conditions for the press," she stressed, adding that "this task is far from easy so far".

The duty of the Russian parliament's press service "is to provide journalists, in keeping with the press law, with all the information they need". "The Press Centre has been provided with several rooms within the building of the former Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, where the State Duma will be housed, including the smaller conference hall, which will be switched on to the television and radio relaying systems," Lantseva said. "However, these premises will hardly be sufficient, especially for the work of news services," she added.

"The question of whether or not meetings of the parliament will be shown on TV and broadcast across the country, as it was the case with the former Supreme Soviet, is to be decided by the MPs themselves," Lantseva noted. The Press Centre is drawing up proposals for contacts with the "Ostankino" TV company and the Russian Television. Today, the press service, which consists of less than ten officials, is preparing equipment and other facilities for the future Press Centre. Accreditation cards have been ordered and will soon be received in Moscow. The Press Centre plans to issue a reference book, listing parliament members with their photographs and other information, including political likings and number of children, similar to the reference manual used in the German Bundestag.

"The question of premises for journalists at the Council of the Federation, the upper chamber of the Russian parliament has not been settled yet," Lantseva said. She said it could be raised only after the press building is transferred to the upper chamber of the Federal Assembly.

Karelian Leader's Proposals for Federation Council

LD0401164694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The chairman of the Karelian Parliament and deputy to the Federal Assembly, Viktor Stepanov, has told INTERFAX that on January 9 or 10 he intends to initiate preliminary discussion, with part of his colleagues in the upper house, of his proposal not to elect the speaker of the Federation Council.

Stepanov has said he intends to propose at the first session of the Federation Council January 11 to elect instead an executive secretary, as well as three co-speakers, each from the republics, autonomies, territories and regions who would in turns chair the House sessions. Stepanov has said that such a structural framework will help to achieve real, not just declared, equality of all subjects of the Russian Federation.

Stepanov believes there is no such equality so far, because as distinct from the Russian republics, territories and regions do not have their own constitutions and their heads are still appointed by the president.

Stepanov said that as an MP he would like to abolish Unitarianism in the Russian Federation and provide genuine federalism, when the component parts in the state have equal rights as is the case in the United States, Switzerland, Germany, and some other countries.

Federation Council Agenda Group Completes Work

LD0401165694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1624 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—The working group set up to work out an agenda of the first session of the Federation Council has completed its work, Russian First Vice-Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko said.

In an interview with journalists on Tuesday, Shumeyko said that the group has worked out a draft agenda which includes five points, namely: the electoral procedure and election of the chairman of the Federation Council, the upper house of Russia's new parliament, and his deputies, the approval of the list of committees of the upper house and their formation, the procedural regulations and life-support system.

Shumeyko added that most disputes were caused by disagreement among the group members over what should be discussed first: the procedural regulations or the elections.

Shumeyko pointed out that under the constitution there should be no joint sessions of the State Duma, the lower house of the Federal Assembly, and the Federation Council. However, Russian President Boris Yeltsin is likely to address both houses after which they will adjourn to seat separately.

As for the candidate to the post of the chairman of the Federation Council, Shumeyko said "it is too early to speak about that, at least until electoral procedures are defined."

He confirmed that the first session of the upper house will be held in the building of the former House of the Russian Press at Pushkinskaya Street 26. "By all standards this building suits perfectly for normal work of the upper house. The president's order should be fulfilled unswervingly," he said.

State Duma To Form 17 Committees

LD0401214994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2126 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspsondent]

[Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—A joint meeting of the Organizational Center for Preparations of the First Meetings of the Russian Federal Assembly chambers and the Commission on Formation of State Duma Commissions was held on Tuesday in Kremlin's Oval Hall, the Russian Federal Assembly's press service reports.

The meeting discussed aspects of formation of State Duma committees and commissions.

The deputies concluded the State Duma shall form 17 committees to include:

1. The committee of constitutional legislation, legal reform and human rights;
2. The committee on public associations and religious organizations;
3. Committee on labor and social protection;
4. Committee on health care and ecology;
5. Committee on education, culture and science;
6. Committee on affairs of women, children and family;
7. Committee on budget and taxes;
8. Committee on economic reform, property and privatization;
9. Committee on banks, credits and money circulation;
10. Committee on agrarian issues;
11. Committee on industry, power engineering, transport and communications;
12. Committee on natural resources and ecology;
13. Committee on defence;
14. Committee on international affairs;
15. Committee on security;
16. Committee on affairs of the federation, national and regional policy, local government;
17. Committee on organization of work of the state duma.

The work of the Commission on Formation of State Duma Commissions will continue on January 5.

Article Questions Need for Deputies in Russia

PM0501093194 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Jan 94 pp 1,2

["Parliamentary Diary" article by Vladimir Isakov: "Does Russia Need Deputies?"]

[Text] **None The Wiser**

It is snowing, sleeting edicts. Piling one on top of another and mixing together, they form something like the impenetrable porridge that fills Moscow's streets.

The edicts revoke or suspend laws and introduce new juridical norms instead; the edicts rip entire chunks out of the body of existing legislation. What about the new Constitution? No recollection of it. By error, apparently, Article 90 of the Constitution stated: "Edicts and directives of the Russian Federation president must not contradict the Russian Federation Constitution and federal laws." What? The president constrained by laws? We can't have that! But Edict No. 2270 of 22 December 1993 clears up the "misunderstanding": "It is to be laid down that Russian Federation laws...do not apply when they contradict the present edict." Now that's better!

But even then the recent edict "On Measures To Bring Russian Federation Legislation Into Line With the Russian Federation Constitution" stands out like a sore thumb. I do not want to go on about the fact that "bringing legislation into line" is the job of the legislative branch, and not of the president at all. If there are people who have not yet realized that anything goes as far as the president is concerned, they are presumably about to be put right. But even in these conditions there are things that cause embarrassment, to put it mildly.

Top of the list is Yeltsin's cancelation of his own 21 September 1993 Edict No. 1400 "On Stage-by-Stage Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation." Yes indeed, the very edict that overthrew the Constitution, declared the dissolution of the Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet, and suspended the activities of the Constitutional Court. The edict, which caused an acute political crisis in the country, led to the firing on parliament and the enormous loss of life.

When he addressed the people, Yeltsin promised that the edict would be submitted for examination by the new parliament. He was entrusting the assessment of his actions to the new parliament, elected in the new conditions—either to approve or to condemn them. Now he has reneged on his promise. The president has changed his mind.

There was an equally unceremonious edict on existing legislation. Amid all the "bringing into line" the government and the president are hastily getting rid of some of the legal norms that get in their way. The law "On

Personal Privatization Accounts and Deposits," which fell foul of Chubays' voucher privatization, has been repealed. The law "On State Protection for the Supreme Representative Organs of Power" has been repealed, evidently as a sensible precaution for the future. Yeltsin also thought it was a convenient moment to dispense with the duty of presenting an annual report on state policy in the sphere of protection of citizens' health and the state of the Russian population's health. No wonder in the three years of his rule the health of the population has reached crisis point (figures and facts on this subject were cited in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA recently). So what you have to do is close the subject to discussion!

A little further on yet another "minor masterpiece" of the "constitutional renaissance" era is eliminated—the edict "On Legal Regulation During the Period of Stage-by-Stage Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation." But hang on, wasn't this the very edict that served as the basis for the executive's massive incursion into the sphere of legislation, taxes, and the budget? Is it a case of "the Moor has done his job, the Moor may go"?

At the end of the edict, which casts a shroud of silence over the blood-spattered remnants of the legal system, we encounter the familiar phrase: "This edict is to be submitted to the Federal Assembly for it to examine..." What, more promises? Is there any limit to the hypocrisy?

Cult of Law or Cult of Force?

When assessing the results of the president's and government's "fruitful activity" in the sphere of legislation, it is hard to avoid the feeling that an experienced hand is directing the breakup of the Russian state and legal system.

This breakup began three years ago, when the provision on Russian laws taking precedence over union laws was enshrined in the declaration on state sovereignty of the RSFSR, adopted by the Congress. The results had a rapid impact. Union enterprises soon began to be drawn into "Russian jurisdiction," and the Union government was put on "maintenance"—a single-channel system of taxes. The article on Russian laws taking precedence was an excellent cover for a ruthless power struggle which resulted in the destruction of the single Union state.

Then came the decision to institute the post of president, which gave rise to confrontation between the authorities and a dangerous concentration of power in one pair of hands. Now we can see that the system of "democratic checks and balances," which is in an embryonic state, could not prevent the slide toward dictatorship.

The next stage in the breakup was the decision on extra powers, which entitled the president to adopt edicts which had the force of law. The two locomotives headed toward one another were bound to crash. And they did. The result was disintegration, instability, anomalies in legislation, and Russia's declining authority both as a business partner and as a state in which laws are respected.

The next step was the so-called "constitutional crisis," caused in fact by the president's reluctance to live and work in accordance with the Constitution under which he was elected and to which, incidentally, he swore loyalty in his presidential oath. Cries of "patched-up Constitution!" and "It is impossible to live by it!" disorientated a section of society, unfortunately. As a result, the old Constitution was destroyed while the new one...the new one is giving rise to more questions than it is answering.

Taking advantage of the events of 21 September-4 October, the president and his entourage effected the total breakup of representative authority from top to bottom. The Federal Treaty, which had been passed off as a most important guarantee of the country's unity and integrity in the new conditions, was removed from the Constitution. On the pretext of concern for local self-government its autonomy was effectively eliminated.

The facts indicate that Russia is being led toward the final phase of the breakup of the legal system. The old Constitution has been destroyed and the new one has been adopted with serious violations having taken place. Immediately after the Constitution was published it began to be discredited, and in various areas moreover. In the first place, it is discredited by the numerous examples of violation of the law during its adoption. Second, by the arrogant attitude toward it on the part of the president and the executive, which are as disdainful of the new Constitution as they were of the old one. Third, the Constititon is undermined by regions' legislative acts, which contradict it at every step. You have, for example, the constitutions of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan and the constitution of the Ural Republic, which was adopted but immediately rescinded. And you cannot really blame the republics: Before giving Chechnya, Tatarstan, or Bashkiria membership of the Russian Federation the consent of the members of the Federation should certainly be sought. And what do you have now: The old Constitution is no more, the new one has not been agreed with them and approval was not obtained in the referendum on their territory. A completely free hand!

In short, every effort has been made to ensure that in the event of an acute political crisis none of the sides can rely on the authority of the law, of the Constitution. To ensure that the sole authority on the territory of Russia is the Kalashnikov rifle and the special militia's stick.

The Stick and Presidential Rule

A new contender appears to have joined the competition for the best political spectacle of the year—the Federal Assembly session. The newly elected parliament has not yet started its work, but there is no end of gloomy forecasts and predictions: "They will split," "they will fight," "they will disintegrate".... Actually, there are grounds for the gloomy predictions: Indeed, Messrs.

Sheynis, Bezrukov, and Mityukov are in charge of preparatios for the first sittings, and the other day they were joined by Mr. Filatov.

The mood of diappointment and pessimism is encouraged by the fact that the Federal Assembly has been in an absurd and humiliating position from the very ou'set. By an edict of the president it was deprived of its official home—the House of Soviets on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment. All service components—vehicle pool, accounting—were cut back to the bone. Now you have to go to the president's office for every little thing.

The edict approved the Federal Assembly apparatus and appointed its leader, Mr. Podoprigora. The leaders of the apparatus are preparing for the opening of the first Federal Assembly session, but in a very peculiar way. Experienced staffers of the former Supreme Soviet are being swiftly dismissed and replaced by "certified cadres." For instance, a large part of the organizational department, which used to handle the practical preparations for sittings and maintained links with the regions, was eliminated. Dozens, hundreds of specialists have received dismissal notices. And this a few days before the session opens...

The draft Standing Orders of the State Duma and Federation Council are already being prepared in the bowels of the president's office. One constant desire can be discerned amid the pages and pages of documents, like the moon peeping through the clouds: To make the future parliament a talking shop rather than a working body. For example, monitoring functions have been removed completely from the standing orders: debate the laws by all means, but monitor their execution—no way! Instead of a presidium a body called a "conference," implying no obligation for anyone, is being instituted—in it the chairmen of factions (party structures) will each have several dozen votes, while the chairmen of committees (the structural components of parliament) will only have a voice but no vote. The purpose of these novelties is clear and simple—to turn the future parliament into a political debating society.

The obvious intention is to create as many contradictions as possible within parliament and cause clashes between Federation Council deputies and State Duma deputies. The trigger for such a conflict is not just simple, but very simple: All you need to do is create a marked difference in salaries, living conditions, and transport and office premises and facilities provision, and emphasize your warm attitude toward one lot and cooler attitude toward the other.... Now the ground is prepared for growing the poisonous mushrooms of personal ambition and mutual discontent. The current authorities have a wealth of experience in this respect. Suffice it to say that the deputies representing the opposition are still unable to obtain the basics—to get the telephones that were cut off during the election campaign reconnected. Let them go around begging and swearing. It is as easy as anything then to portray them as troublemakers concerned only with their own "deputies' privileges."

There is yet another problem that is arousing a great deal of emotion. It is the former USSR and Russian Federation people's deputies still living in official apartments. Some of them have settled in Moscow, others have simply nowhere else to go to. This brought on a fit of administrative rage: "You have 24 hours to move out!" But this is precisely a case where administrative interference is harmful. If you throw onto the street people whose only crime was to carry out their civic duty and not seek handouts, we will not attract any deputies in the future.

The question is: Do we actually need deputies in Russia? Who wants to face the abuse and scorn of the press, feel impotent in the face of an official's disdainful smile, be held responsible for something you are unabler to change? Perhaps we should immediately place power in the hands of those who know how to make money out of it and no longer bother with competitive elections?

That is way things are going, it appears. The fuss over the work of the Federal Assembly before it has begun reveals a hidden goal, which is to discredit the very idea of people's representation in the people's eyes: No, they say, we are not mature enough for a parliament.... The stick and presidential rule—that is what Russia needs.

Rationale Behind Independents' Duma Group Explained

PM0401122594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 94 First Edition pp 1,8

[Interview with Gennadiy Kalistratov, acting coordinator of the newly created faction of independent deputies, by Sergey Brusin; place and date not given: "Gennadiy Kalistratov: Party Sword Hangs Over Duma"]

[Text] The State Duma has not even begun its work, but the lives of the deputies within it is already tense. The parties which collected the largest number of votes during the elections are forming factions, conducting publicized and unpublicized talks, elaborating scenarios, and sharing out power. The creation of a faction (or a group—it is being given various names) of independent deputies elected in the regions in one-seat districts has come as a surprise event to many people. Our correspondent Sergey Brusin talked to Gennadiy Kalistratov, acting coordinator of this new deputies' association, who, as he stressed, expressed his own personal viewpoint.

[Brusin] Gennadiy Stepanovich, why has the association of regional independent deputies been formed?

[Kalistratov] The reason is simple; it has moral and civil roots. The main tasks facing all of society are to give economic reform a social orientation, to create a federative state in reality and not just on paper, to develop local government, to create the political conditions for fruitful work by the government, to combat crime, and to

ensure the political and economic integration of the CIS countries.... Without them we will not achieve political stabilization in the country.

However, the way the State Duma has started work may turn out to be such that a solution to the aforesaid problems will not be brought nearer but, conversely, will be delayed. Such a turn of events is the potential outcome of employing a purely party-based principle in forming the Duma's working mechanisms.

That is why a special role has been given to the independent deputies, who have from the outset been outside the influence of Moscow (as we know, the parties mainly represent Moscow), outside party struggles, and outside party discipline. The independent deputies are responsible to the electorate and the electorate alone. By uniting to coordinate their actions on the basis of pragmatism and realism, they can stabilize the parliament's work. They will have to fight against both narrow party interests and the ambitions of individual deputies.

For instance, the parties will first and foremost try to use the rostrum and the opportunities presented by the Duma to prepare for the next elections. Private agreements between leading party factions are also possible, leading to scenarios whereby all of the deputies will be forced to vote for packages of proposals. Then the Duma's leading organs will be formed practically solely from the parties. Another scenario is also being elaborated: to offer to post of speaker to a faction representative from a small party, in order to put an end to arguments. This is a good intention as long as there is no hidden maneuver here to have the speaker pursue the line of a specific leading party later on.

The independent deputies should uphold temporary regulations which would enable people who are professionally trained to enter the leadership of the Duma—people unconnected with party discipline. The speaker should not be an isolated figure (let us learn the lessons of the past). The number of his deputies should most probably not be equal to the number of leading parties, otherwise an exclusively party-based principle will prevail in the Duma's work. The formation of the Duma apparatus should also be seen from this angle.

The party principle in the division of the mechanisms of power is also a "minefield" because the party coalitions are not mature but were created in an ad hoc way and will scarcely withstand the tests of unity to which life itself will soon subject them. Processes of division and collapse within parties are inevitable. And the Duma, if formed on the basis of the party principle, will find itself drawn into them. Then, before we even have time to deal with Russia's problems, we will drown in behind the scenes squabbles.

It appears that, in this situation, only a strongly unified political center, organizing cooperation among all constructive forces, can preserve the Duma's viability.

Yeltsin Aide Discusses Deputies' Ties to Factions

PM0401142594 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 4

[Interview with Viktor Sheynis, deputy chairman of the President's Legislative Proposals Commission, by correspondent Lyubov Volodina; place and date not given: "The Rules of the Game for Deputies"]

[Text] The elaboration of the draft laws which will enable the Federal Assembly to carry out its activity is being completed by the President's Legislative Proposals Commission. Commission Deputy Chairman Viktor Sheynis here talks about them to your correspondent.

[Volodina] Viktor Leonidovich, why did the need arise to draw up the legislative organ's standing orders before the Federal Assembly starts work? After all, this was previously done by parliament itself.

[Sheynis] I regard this as a sensible decision because parliament cannot operate without standing orders or a law on the status of deputies. We cannot use the old standing orders and the old law because we have a parliament that is fundamentally different in terms of its organization, structure, method of election, and constitutional functions. Fundamentally new documents regulating its activity are correspondingly essential. The fact that we have gotten down to preparing these draft laws is sensible, in my view, because the questions of the actual organization of parliament's work must be resolved before we move on to substantive questions. Otherwise it is unclear how those substantive issues will be tackled. But our society is interested above all in the actual work of legislation, which is bound up with tackling the fundamental issues that concern our society and were so clearly manifest at the elections and in the referendum, rather than the manner in which deputies will conduct themselves, how voting will be carried out or the chairman elected, or how many committees the State Duma and Federation Council will set up. Therefore the preparatory work, which is being carried out in a sufficiently expert manner and which in no way predetermines the final versions which the State Duma and Federation Council will adopt, will simply save time and enable us to cover more quickly the ground which is preparatory in nature and get down to the main business for which the new parliament was elected.

[Volodina] You do not anticipate that the State Duma and Federation Council will refuse to accept the proposed drafts on the grounds that they have been drawn up by the president's commission, that is to say, by the executive branch, and embark on their own work? From scratch....

[Sheynis] Theoretically that is feasible, of course. Practically, however, it seems to me that sensible people, the people elected as members of parliament, will not be able to dispense with the work which has already been done and which will, I hope, satisfy them to a considerable extent. But two provisos have to be made here. The first

is that groups of deputies have already been set up to prepare the sessions of the future parliament, and the Legislative Proposals Commission's draft outlines will be submitted for their examination. It is highly likely that they will make their own contribution to this work in the time remaining before 11 January. Thus the documents will to some extent be approved by deputies of the present convocation. As for the second proviso, I think that the introduction of certain emendations to the drafts is not only possible but also extremely desirable. A number of serious conceptual disagreements have arisen in the process of working on them. I, in particular, as a participant in this work on the one hand and as a deputy of the State Duma of the present convocation on the other, have a whole series of serious objections to the text which now exists and will do all in my power to make the necessary amendments to it.

[Volodina] What is the nub of those disagreements?

[Sheynis] The standing orders and the status of deputies touch above all on the question of whether deputies will have an obligatory or free mandate. In other words, can a deputy elected, say, on the federation-wide list be stripped of his status as a deputy on the basis of a decision by the electoral association which entered his name on the list? There are differing approaches here: Both sides have their arguments for and against. The second point is: Can a deputy quit one faction and join another? How strict and tough are the conditions governing a deputy's involvement in a faction's activity? I consider that the very division of the legislative organ on the basis of political positions rather than according to regions, as used to be the case, marks a huge step toward a civilized parliament. But I do think that binding every deputy to a particular faction in an extremely strict manner will undermine the activity of the factions as groups of political associations of deputies among themselves and create unnecessary inner tension within factions.

Moreover, the very serious problem arises not just of the relationship between a deputy and his faction but also of the relationship between a deputy and a committee and a deputy and the organs which provide services to the State Duma and the Federation Council. There clearly exists a common opinion, one reflected in the the drafts, that we should in no circumstance have a sovereign presidium or a "speaker of all Russia," who is an independent figure and issues directives which are mandatory for parliament and binding on deputies. Decisions in parliament should, in keeping with the very raison d'etre of that organ, be made on a collegial basis. As far as the chairman, deputy chairmen, and committee chairmen are concerned, they exercise purely organizational and coordinating functions. Here there is clearly a wide degree of agreement, although it does seem to me that certain statutes must also be amended here to ensure the individiual deputy's sovereignty.

[Volodina] Won't the election of some deputies on a proportional system and correspondingly their more rigid attachment to factions than before tend to intensify political struggle inside the State Duma rather than weaken it, as relatively strong and internally disciplined groups will be counterposed?

[Sheynis] I think it essential to enshrine in both the status of the deputy and in the standing orders the fact that a deputy is free to express his own opinions. A faction is entitled to dispense with a deputy's services and exclude him from its ranks, and a deputy then loses all the additional opportunities which he obtains from affiliation to a faction. He will thus think long and hard before deciding to take the extreme measure of severing his connection with the faction. I think it correct to enshrine in the standing orders (there is nothing on that score in the draft to date) that a faction can expel a deputy, although this should not be done lightly: The procedure pertaining to such a decision should be strictly stipulated. Likewise a deputy is entitled to withdraw from a faction of his own accord. A faction should have the right to accept other deputies into its ranks, including those elected for single-seat electoral districts. I think that this will alleviate tension inside a faction to a certain extent. But the movement toward a party political organization of parliament marks in itself, in my view, a considerable step forward, one prompted by our election law. Today certain imperfections and failings in the election legislation are apparent—this was our first effort, after all. But its merit resides precisely in the fact that a definite political structure has replaced disorganized deputies and more or less haphazard decisionmaking, decisions which could be made either under the influence of a volatile mood or as a result, say, of manipulation by the speaker, and so forth. Real social contradictions will not disappear; they exist. Political struggle will go on. The problem is not to exclude struggle but to channel it within the normal civilized norms accepted throughout the world. And, as I see it, faction-based organization helps rather than hinders this cause.

[Volodina] Will the Legislative Proposals Commission cease to exist with the start of the parliament's work, or will it remain?

[Sheynis] The President's Legislative Proposals Commission was set up by the president. The decision will consequently be made by him. From my own standpoint, the existence of such a commission is useful. It is useful insofar as a significant amount of legislation is submitted on the president's behalf. That is world practice too: The executive branch in the person of the government or the president introduces 70 to 90 percent of all draft laws. To ensure that they are worked on to a high standard I think it useful to have such a structure in the Presidential Administration. It is another issue that this structure, if it is retained—I repeat, I do not know what decision the president will make—should, of course, be somewhat restructured, if only because a considerable number of the commission personnel, elected deputies, will go into the Federal Assembly. That is the provision of the law, and I myself have already tendered my resignation as deputy chairman of the commission, as prescribed by law. But I do think that a sufficient number of skilled

people who acquired experience in legislative work in the last parliament will remain in the commission, and it would be wasteful and uneconomical, given our situation, to dispense with those people and the activity which they can successfully undertake. Therefore, if I were the person deciding the question, I would keep the commission in a transformed guise.

Federal Assembly Apparatus Chief Cited on Duma Opening

PM0501092994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir Yanchenkov: "Parliament Apparatus Ready for Work"]

[Text] That is what Vladimir Podoprigora, leader of the Russian Federal Assembly apparatus, stated on the eve of the opening of the first State Duma session.

In contrast to the apparatus of the former Russian Supreme Soviet, which numbered 1,350 people, he noted, the new parliament's apparatus will consist of 537 employees. Since the Russian Federal Assembly consists of two independent chambers (the Federation Council and the State Duma) there will correspondingly be two secretariats in the apparatus.

A workable nucleus has been formed. The first experience of work with the deputies' commissions created by the chambers has shown that the parliamentary apparatus workers can fully cope with the set tasks.

The testing which has been carried out on the staffers has confirmed their high level of professional training. That is understandable, for 90 percent of the apparatus workers are employees of the former Supreme Soviet. These people have resolved and are capable of resolving tasks of any complexity. What tasks will be set them, and by whom, is another question.

The main task of the Russian parliamentary apparatus is to ensure the effect work of the deputies, to supply them with the necessary information in an entirely complete and objective manner, and to promote the high-quality formulation of the decisions the deputies will make. And they must do everything to ensure that they exert no influence in any way on the nature of the decisions which are made or on their content.

State Duma Makeup Seen Favoring Communist-Agrarian Bloc

MK0501111094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 5 Jan 94 p 1

[Dmitriy Kuznets report under the "Factions" rubric: "Duma Debates: Winner To Be Named by Zhirinovskiy? 'Big Four' Unable To Reach Agreement"]

[Text] Strange as it may seem, the parliamentary debates scheduled to begin on 11 January may turn out to be very predictable. A parliamentary mechanism hitherto unheard of in Russia—decisionmaking by consultations among key faction leaders—is taking shape at the State Duma. The very first three weeks after the elections have enriched Russia's political vocabulary with the term "The Big Four." The four largest factions—the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], KPRF [Russian Federation Communist Party], the Agrarian Party, and "Russia's Choice"—as expected, will continue to mold the parliament's policy.

"Small" factions, to all appearances, will be unable to pursue their own line and will give their backing to one of the "Group of Four" members. At the same time, the votes of these backers will be split approximately equally between the two irreconcilable foes—the bloc of the communists and agrarians on one hand and "Russia's Choice" on the other.

Neither the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR], nor "Women of Russia," nor "Yabloko" have so far entered the consultations, PRUA [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] leader Sergey Shakhray being the only one displeased with the fact that "the four large factions have usurped the rights of the other deputies."

The round of talks on the candidacy of the speaker to which representatives of "small factions" were invited has shown, however, that an increase in participants does not affect the outcome of the consultations. Mr. Shakhray's "dissenting opinion" appears to have been prompted by the decision of the "Group of Four" that chairmanship be given only to a deputy from a "large faction." The PRUA leader, however, lays claims to the office himself.

The first consultations devoted to the election of the State Duma speaker have shown that the standoff between the communists and "Russia's Choice" rules out any agreement within the "Group of Four" and thus gives Zhirinovskiy's party unlimited room for maneuver. This is why the LDPR's stance on key matters the parliament plans to considers is becoming crucial.

To all appearances, the LDPR has decided to give its backing at the vote to elect a speaker to Ivan Rybkin, a candidate from the Agrarian Party. It seems that in other "organizational" matters, such as approving the rules of procedure and forming committees and commissions, the "Zhirinovites" are also intent on voting with the opposition. So, the first objective of the RFCP and the Agrarian Party—"to seize the State Duma's organizational structure" —is likely to be achieved.

It is also evident that Zhirinovskiy will disappoint the RFCP, which is planning to "abrogate the Constitution," which the LDPR has embraced wholeheartedly. The communists may expect, however, that their other endeavors will succeed. For instance, to all appearances, the LDPR will support the adoption of the law on land as it was proposed by the Agrarian Party, thus disavowing the famous presidential edict and restricting private owners' rights.

"Russia's Choice" can hardly count on the successful adoption of the budget, either. In this particular case the PRES and, possibly, some part of "Yabloko" may join Yegor Gaydar's hard-line opponents from among the communists and nationalists.

Still, all "ill-conceived" State Duma decisions could be blocked by the parliament's upper chamber. But there, too, the position of "Russia's Choice" is far from perfect—judging from last year's experience, "regional elites," which won a majority at the Federation Council, are not very favorably disposed toward the federal authorities. The pro-presidential forces at the Federation Council, to all appearances, will be too preoccupied with reigning in separatism to take on the State Duma's majority. All the more so because territorial "elites" are inclined to join forces: Former Sverdlovsk Oblast Governor Eduard Rossel is already setting up the "Deputies from the Urals" organization.

Zhirinovskiy Group To Propose General Amnesty

LD0401172594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1711 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—A draft decree "On General Political and Economic Amnesty for All Those Convicted Since April 15, 1985" is expected to be moved by the Liberal Democratic faction at a State Duma session.

In the statement dated December 31 but conveyed to TASS only today, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's ultranationalist party describes its motion as "a new year gift" and expresses hope that this decree will be "a step towards consolidation of society".

The draft decree also suggests that the trial over the August 1991 pro-communist coup plotters be terminated "for lack of corpus delicti", as well as that all people mixed up in the October 1993 events on both sides "be relieved from any responsibility".

The authors of the draft decree propose placing the jailed masterminders of the October uprising under home arrest and then banning them, as well as some of the August coup leaders, from going in for politics for three years.

Zhirinovskiy Role, Duma Scenario Viewed

PM0501103094 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 5

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Valentinovich Malyutin, section chief at the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, RUIE, Experts Institute and member of the Civil Union Political Council; economist Oleg Vladimirovich Grigoryev, department chief at the RUIE Experts Institute and cochairman of the Russian Association of Political and Economic Consultants, AsPEC; and sociologist Igor Aleksandrovich Yakovenko, cochairman of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation; article is published under the rubric "Political Kitchen," with introductory note by Feliks Babitskiy: "Every Cook Must Learn To Run the State"]

[Text] [Babitskiy introduction] "Every Cook Must Learn To Run the State"—the successors of Ilich, who once proclaimed this slogan, contrived to turn it into a reality without meaning to. Of course, the last thing you could ever accuse the Bolsheviks of was wanting to build a civil society. But the needs of industrialization forced them to achieve 100-percent literacy among the population and to give higher, if not classical, education to millions of people.

And political awareness is the inevitable offshoot of education. So we have the Bolsheviks to thank for that, too!

However, once their "political enlightenment" had given us a taste for big politics, they were unable to satisfy our political appetite. We had to do this ourselves, getting together with friends and colleagues in somebody's kitchen. Where else, I wonder, would the cook and her children do it?

O kitchen!

You are the birthplace of all our country's present political concepts and doctrines. You launched the careers of many stars and entire troupes who are now giving shows on the political stage. And it does not matter that the relations between them are, frankly, more appropriate to the kitchen. What matters is that the actors and performers should have a perfect mastery of at least the main recipes in political cuisine: all those cooked-up facts served up with titillating "plums," all that raw meat from the hot spots, stuffed with lead and covered in ideological sauce. Of course, the public does not always like these details—it is a matter of taste. But since they are feeding it to us anyway, we had better make sure they do not foist any really uneatable bad meat on us.

That is why, from now on, page two of our newspaper will carry articles by the best chefs who prepare dishes for the table of the country's president, government, leading politicians, and businessmen. Let us hope that with their help we will all reach the standard of that legendary cook who is supposed to run the state.

And irony aside: That standard is what is called a civil society.

Today we offer for your attention two pieces of research work carried out specially for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's analysis service by a group of experts.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI has exclusive rights to this research.

So, welcome to our political kitchen!

Yours,

Feliks Babitskiy.

[Malyutin, Grigoryev, Yakovenko article begins] **And All This Is About Him**

About the terrible Zhirinovskiy, from whom, for some reason or other, people expect unheard-of villainies and great acts of heroism on a Quixotic scale—and some of them, in a fit of "administrative rapture," have even decided to form a front to barricade themselves against him. This is totally unwarranted—you only have to remember Zhirinovskiy at the Constitutional Conference to see how quiet and God-fearing he can be. He too will be a center. Center in every sense, including a center of attention, and, with 70 people, a center of decision-making. Unless, naturally, a centrist majority forms, and finds a common language with the government, and that is clearly not going to happen for the first few months at least. And if enough acts of folly are committed during that time, the Duma in its present composition might never succeed at all.

Of course, on the strength of its basic principles, Zhirinovskiy's party is the typical "power party," in some ways downright archetypal, as Grandpa Lenin would have said. But unlike the Communists and the national patriots, who based all their plans (and still do, sometimes, to this day) on raising the masses against the ruling regime and using parliament as a platform to kindle the masses' fury, Zhirinovskiy has every chance of coming to power legally in the very near future. Never in his life has he had any philosophical allergy (whether based on communism or on a back-to-the-land philosophy) to using general elections, the presidency, and parliamentary democracy as tools. Without comparing him to Hitler, we would nonetheless like to point out that the Third Reich was a strictly rule-of-law state, and its Fuehrer never broke a single law in his life (OK, so he wrote the laws himself, but every great man has his whims).

And so the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], like the other groupings (YaBL [Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin] and the PRUA [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] most of all) for whom the most important thing is the presidential elections in summer 1996 (that is the very latest date, they could be earlier), will use the Duma (which, moreover, does not decide anything, in the sense of exercising power) to "flex their muscles." Shakhray and Yavlinskiy will demonstrate to the whole world that "only they can stop" Zhirinovskiy, using him as a battering ram. If, say, after a while Zhirinovskiy concludes that there is a high probability of his losing the elections, he will undoubtedly go over to the intransigents and become their leader, but that is not how things stand for the time being. He does not really need them as a worn-out step up to his pedestal.

What we have here is a kind of "negative synthesis" of the NSF [National Salvation Front] in content and Democratic Russia in form—and more effective in both cases, thus far. There is no need to embark on an analysis of the front's ideology now: The predominant force there was "down with!", and any attempts to think in terms of "long live!" ran aground on the problems faced by "an alliance of cats tied together by their tails." It is quite obvious that in September-October the NSF suffered an organizational failure, since it was not in control of anything and played the part of more or less active "cannon fodder" and "cheerleaders" for Khasbulatov and Rutskoy. All in all, there were too many petty contenders for the roles of leaders and ideologues, none of whom knew how to work with the mass media—nor were they willing to learn....

As for Democratic Russia, it had, generally speaking, the same organizational Achilles heel. For this movement of brilliant (mainly Moscow-based) individualists, Yeltsin was initially "not one of ours." They quite openly decided to take him up and make use of him as a battering ram in pursuit of their own goals, making no secret of the fact that they could drop him if they no longer needed him, and he repaid them in kind. Yeltsin very sensibly never claimed to be an original thinker. They got into parliament thanks to their own efforts, and when, for one reason or another, they were disappointed with Yeltsin, they distanced themselves from him, and often gained by doing so. It is no accident that virtually nobody from Moscow's Democratic Russia has made an even remotely successful government career, even after August 1991.

Yeltsin, for his part, within his "milieu," always kept the radicals at a certain distance, preferring the position of "father of the nation." In actual fact Zhirinovskiy likewise—with adjustments for temperament and style—was never a radical in his actions, nor is he an "unbounded" demagogue. As long as you do not hang on his every word and judge him by his public statements, in actual fact he is rather a cautious creature who always has a keen sense of the dividing line between what is permitted and what is not, for the moment, permitted. Even without him, the Duma will have no shortage of radicals, who will inevitably try to "out-Zhirinovskiy" him and, in a way, to revive the traditions of the "White" wing of the NSF.

Zhirinovskiy took "his" list into the Duma himself, on his own back: 60 of them, of whom only six are from the electoral districts—a striking contrast! They include practically no well-known, outstanding individuals except for A. Kashpirovskiy and the ecologist M. Lemeshev, nor are there any really independent thinkers with claims to originality—although the presence of the editor of YURIDICHESKAYA GAZETA and a group of legal experts and economists formerly linked with the radical wing of the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] solves the problem of who will write the draft laws, while at the same time giving rise to a certain lack of internal homogeneity in the team, where there is already a growing dissatisfaction among the "old boyars" with the "new staff of smart guys." It will therefore be a very obedient tool, especially if the idea of the imperative mandate—propagandized not only by Zhirinovskiy—catches on and the entire faction votes as one

man, so that the "lawyer's son" could end any parliamentary or extraparliamentary argument with the same phrase (like Cato about Carthage): "Apart from all that has been said, I must add that Russia's problems will never be solved until I am elected president, the sooner the better." This phrase will sound all the more weighty given that, with the existing structure of the Duma, Zhirinovskiy's faction could block any decision by abstaining. Unless the center can come to an agreement with either Zyuganov or Gaydar on any given question.

Meanwhile Vladimir Volfovich will willingly explain to whoever wants to listen that he is voting in this way because he does not want to get dragged into squabbles between bankrupt politickers who are always sharing out power and do not think about the people. Against the background of the democrats' convulsive attempts to knock together an antifascist front (it is not clear that this front is going to do anything except make trips abroad: It might hold rallies—but who is going to come?), these tactics will instantly win new supporters. Of course, there will be rows too, and on many more occasions our hero will have to write the word "traitor" next to the names of those who are presently his closest comrades in arms—for a charismatic leader, that is quite normal....

Moreover, the "Zhirinovskiy factor," irrespective of the fact that everyone has already declared that they will not join a coalition with him, will strengthen the intransigent opposition of the old stamp.

That opposition can now operate as zealously as it likes—because this Duma cannot be disbanded, except, of course, at bayonet point. And judging by the vote, the main military secret is not how many bayonets, sabers, and other antiquated items the former Red Army has, but whom the army is backing today. The present Kremlin authorities know very well that there can hardly be a repetition of the October onslaught—a miracle is a miracle precisely because it happens only once. The intransigents could even blackmail the democrats with the threat of self-dissolution by the Duma, because at the moment everyone knows who would win the next elections if such were held. Obviously not "Russia's Choice," especially since the new electoral law (including the Law on Presidential Elections) will be adopted, amid heated debates, by this very Duma. And Yeltsin's edicts, whether on the timing of the presidential elections or on abandoning them, also need ratifying. So there you are.

Naturally, Zhirinovskiy's future as a politician is by no means cloudless, and his success is by no means predetermined, just as Yeltsin's political past—turbulent even by our standards, which are far from poor in this respect—was not cloudless. In the opinion of many serious analysts, Yeltsin's career, retrospectively, looks like a chain of lucky chances which at any moment—until the evening of 3 October 1993—turned out ultimately in his favor. But that does not really have anything to do with parliament: The LDPR faces questions relating to the building of its own political party, the coordination of extraparliamentary forms of pressure on the regime, work with the Army, foreign policy actions, and much else. After all, before the elections it was no more substantial than the DPR [Democratic Party of Russia] in this respect, that is, it had a few thousand activists and, according to expert assessments, its numerical strength was not much in excess of 10,000 members, and, other than in the Moscow region, it was influential and had a real presence only in the Nonchernozem and a few other regions.

It is clear that all this will not be decided at the level of the parliamentary faction: That faction will give voice to the planned strategy and tactics in the public area, which, incidentally, is what has always been done throughout the world. But since, in this article, we are analyzing not the prospects of a certain type of charismatic leader and his "ultramodern party" taking power, but the prospects of the new parliament on whose stage he will put on his political performances, what has been said about the LDPR is sufficient, as a first approximation. Zhirinovskiy has received his mandate of confidence as the "Yeltsin of today," in an even more provincial version. Let us see whether he will be able to take advantage of it.

On the Eve of a Choice

In its very first hours of work the State Duma will face a question whose answer will immediately clarify much. It is a kind of archetypal "knight at the crossroads" situation. With its "if you turn left...and if you turn right...." This is not the question of the government, as many people fear. Ultimately Chernomyrdin has quite a good chance of being given confidence, although, of course, some unpleasant moments lie in store for him when he is forced to answer the question of the possible presence of Gaydar, Chubays, Fedorov, and Kozyrev in the government. After all, if worst comes to worst, the question of the government can be avoided entirely, but the question of ratifying Edict 1400 cannot be avoided. Especially since this procedure was stipulated by the edict itself and by subsequent legislative activity carried out by the president "on credit."

The consequences of the ratification or nonratification of Edict 1400 are obvious. If the edict is not ratified, the entire new political and legal structure collapses. After that, while the president will unequivocally be, from the legal viewpoint, a "usurper and rebel who carried out a bloody coup d'etat," parliament, although it will not have been elected entirely legitimately, will still remain the organ of people's power. All it has to do is to declare itself, by a simple majority, to be the successor not only to the Congress, but also to the State Duma and the Constituent Assembly into the bargain, and even to the Zemskiy Sobor that used to elect the czars at one time.

First of all, the new Constitution automatically ceases to operate, since the referendum on it was held in violation of the Law on the Referendum, which Yeltsin was entitled to do only in the event that the edict was ratified.

Incidentally, in their haste, they omitted to repeal or suspend that law. Nonratification of the edict does not necessarily mean the automatic reinstatement of the disbanded Congress, but it does allow for the possibility of turning the Duma into a Constituent Assembly, and here you cannot get away with just another edict to the effect that the relevant point of Edict 1400 is invalid on the basis of the referendum results (nationwide approval by one-third of the electoral register is politically insubstantial and has no legal status without ratification by parliament), especially since the new Constitution was not adopted in the majority of components of the Federation.

The situation is made even trickier by the fact that votes must be collected not against, but for ratification, and it is quite possible to propose the interpretation that since Edict 1400 is undoubtedly constitutional, it requires a constitutional majority (that is, three-fourths), and this cheerfully postpones the question until the twelfth of never. There will be people in the Duma who will raise this question, but the centrists will be very well aware of what prospects face them in this connection. Especially since the YaBL bloc has decided to seize the initiative and has declared that it will seek the formation of a commission for parliamentary investigation of all the circumstances relating to the adoption and implementation of Edict 1400. It will then be "not just simple, but very simple" to postpone its ratification until then and to keep Yeltsin personally in their sights. While extracting in exchange, as a minimum, a return to June 1994 presidential elections. And then it will be possible to create a really broad front, if not antifascist (there is no real threat from there at present), then an anti-authoritarian front, on the basis of limiting the president's powers and returning to a majority system in elections.

The democratic factions themselves have no way of collecting 225 votes for the ratification of the edict, especially since not everyone in the PRUA or YaBL will vote for it, and the "independent" is independent, and it is not at all clear what he can be bought for at the moment. Nor is intimidation really practicable. Two options remain. Either you buy the votes of the centrists, up to and including the agrarians—but in return they will demand the government, nothing less. Or else you openly enter into a coalition with Zhirinovskiy, once again on the basis of renewed constitutionalism. And even then there might not be enough votes. From the viewpoint of his own interests, there is no particular reason for Zhirinovskiy to "tarnish his bright image" in the eyes of the voter through an open alliance with "Russia's Choice." That could lose him votes. On this question, it would be better for him to abstain: After all, he played absolutely no part in the September-October events, and therefore he need not join in someone else's fight, he can sit and wait. But the question of the ratification of Edict 1400 gives him a unique opportunity to demand, as payment, that presidential elections be called for June of this year. That step is something that would be very well understood by his voters. And not only his....

Whatever the president's team may do, the raising of the question of Edict 1400 in the Duma is inevitable. This will be voted for both by the centrists, if our analysis is correct and there are more serious politicians among them today, and by Zhirinovskiy, because power itself is falling into his hands. "We will make a deal with the president"—this man knows what he is saying. The reformers had better start thinking now who they would prefer to deal with. They have already started: Kozyrev observed aloud that the communists were always the staunchest fighters against fascism. How far Zyuganov can be counted as one of them, and how far it is reasonable to classify his party, in its present form, in the tradition of the left, and specifically the antifascist tradition, is another matter. But the CPRF clearly does not tolerate crooks, and if it is going to come to terms, it is only with Chernomyrdin and the "pragmatic wing" in general, certainly not with fundamentalist ideologists. It has plenty of its own, within the faction. Especially since the CPRF has its own favorite complicating factor—a coalition government of people's confidence, and it is clearly going to push that most of all.

But if the barrier of Edict 1400 can somehow be crossed, the problem of the budget and the government will loom large, mainly the former, because, whatever Constitution we are to live under in future, any parliament is going to have a fairly distant connection with the government, but the Duma will allow the government to draw up the budget for 1994, so as to be able to castigate it later (and Fedorov's head alone might not be enough). As for other avenues of development, there is no point in talking about them until after this latest fork in the road has been traversed.

Filatov Interviewed on Constitution

PM0401150394 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Sergey Filatov, Russian President Yeltsin's chief of staff, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Living According to the Law and Conscience—Sergey Filatov, Specially for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI"]

[Text] [ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] It took tremendous intellectual and moral efforts by society to take the step to the country's new Constitution. Its adoption is a historical fact and was a moment of truth. We all must be aware of the great strength of the state embodied by the new Constitution. It is important that we all sense the vitality of the fundamental law, which from the outset must give not the slightest grounds for being seen as impotent or purely rhetorical. Is there any confidence that the launching of the new Constitution into the orbit

of the Russian state will rally the people and give them faith and hope for change and for the instrument of this change?

[Filatov] It is precisely confidence in the Constitution's timeliness that is today maintaining and imparting confidence to many Russian Federation citizens both inside and outside the country.

The Constitution has cut the knot of the soviets' monopoly on power in the country, has created substantial legal barriers to the possibility of gaining power by violent adventurist means, and has created the preconditions for ending the legal chaos. On 24 December 1993 the Russian Federation president issued the edict "On Measures To Bring Russian Federation Legislation Into Line With the Russian Federation Constitution," whereby he laid down all the additional powers he was forced to exercise after the termination of the Supreme Soviet's activity. Thus responsibility for the country's development is de jure now placed equally on the executive and legislative branches, in conformity with the Constitution.

The elaboration of the draft constitution and the holding of the nationwide vote was a huge job involving hundreds and thousands of people: scientists, specialists, and representatives of parties and social movements. All mechanisms of democratic principles were used in preparing the Constitution. The support for the Constitution by the people is visible confirmation that it was prepared not by the powers that be but indeed by representatives of all strata of the population. While the United States was left with two volumes of stenographic reports after the preparation of its Constitution, we have been left with an entire multivolume series in our archives. The text of the fundamental law was studied at the Constitutional Conference, in its chambers, in working commissions, and under constitutional arbitration procedures. I hope that all the papers will be published and be available to any historian. I want to sincerely thank all participants in this great and important work!

There were many firsts. For the first time a draft constitution was submitted to a nationwide vote. For the first time the existence of a professional parliament has been enshrined in the Constitution.

There are many other firsts. This is probably why it is proving such a slow and difficult process to build the edifice of the new statehood. But it is a poor master who is guided solely by the well known principle "Let us raze everything to the ground, and then...." Naturally, the new Constitution was based on consideration of the relations really existing in society and on consideration of the existing real guarantees of human rights and freedoms. Therefore it both encapsulated society's existing achievements and, most importantly, opened up future prospects.

With the adoption of the new Constitution one of the fundamentally important pledges that the president of Russia gave the people has been fulfilled. This was also fresh confirmation of people's trust in the presidential course of political and economic reform.

The nationwide approval of such an important legal document represents a credit of trust in the authorities. A sizable credit at a considerable rate of interest. So we should not rest on our laurels but constantly think about progress every day and every hour. It is no accident that the opposition is vigorously pushing the thesis that the policies of the supporters of democracy and economic reform are ramshackle. However, work on the new Constitution demonstrated, first, the seriousness and promising nature of our plans and the fact that they are thoroughly thought-out and, most importantly, the consistency of the transformations in all spheres of Russia's social life. In my view, the time of "ultrarevolutionary" upheavals must finally recede into the past. We have had enough of measuring our lives by the intervals between revolutions. People are tired of upheavals, of a feverish economy, and of uncertainty about the future.

The new Constitution is precisely an instrument we can rely on in transforming our society's economy and politics and the life of the country as a whole. It clearly delimits the competence of legislative and executive organs of power and does not permit them to "pressure" each other. It contains a number of mechanisms for this.

I hope that the start of work by the Federal Assembly will show that the new parliament's main task is to create the framework of legislation and adopt the laws according to which we will live, while the task of the executive organs is to ensure that those laws are implemented. But if all of a sudden the mechanism for the separation of powers "misfires," the mechanism of guarantees—the president's power—will come into effect. It is the president who is the guarantor of observance of the Russian Federation Constitution. Moreover, the Constitution in itself, as a law, lays down the basis for stability in the country's existence, enabling the world community to regard the country as a strong state and reliable partner from the political and economic viewpoints.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Nowadays the word "Constitution" is used together with the word "new." How are its forms new? It is important to grasp this, since some of them were enshrined in the old Constitution.

[Filatov] The most fundamental element in the Constitution is the enshrining of human and civil rights and freedoms. For the first time it is on record that the Russian Federation recognizes and guarantees rights and freedoms in accordance with generally recognized principles and norms of international law. The aforementioned rights and freedoms are direct-acting and are safeguarded by the judicial system.

Both economic rights and citizens' freedoms have been clarified. Each citizen is granted the right to engage freely in entrepreneurial activity. The question of private ownership has been fundamentally resolved. Article 35 says that the right of private ownership is protected by law.

The entire Constitution is permeated by the idea of strengthening our federative state. It clearly defines the legal status of components of the Russian Federation and their equality among themselves and in relations with the center. I need only cite the provision of Article 76 whereby normative legal enactments of components of the Russian Federation operate in the adoption of federal law on questions not forming part of the competence of central organs of state power.

It is important to note that the autonomy of components is determined not only by the Constitution but also by the Federation Treaty and also by their right to conclude other treaties on the demarcation of areas of responsibility of their powers. [sentence as published]

The constitutional regulation of relations between the president, the government, and the Federal Assembly is important. This nexus is structured on the basis that the president of the Russian Federation is the head of state and guarantor of the Constitution, human and civil rights and freedoms, and the sovereignty, independence, and state integrity of the Russian Federation. With the consent of the State Duma the president appoints the chairman of the government (if parliament rejects three nominations the president has the right to appoint the chairman independently, dissolve the Duma, and schedule fresh elections), adopts decisions on the dismissal of the government, at the proposal of the chairman of the government appoints and dismisses his deputies and federal ministers, and submits to the Federation Council for appointment candidate justices of the Constitutional Court, Supreme Court, and Superior Court of Arbitration. According to the procedure indicated in the Constitution, he can be removed from office by the Federation Council on the basis of a charge of high treason or another grave crime submitted by the State Duma.

The Constitution creates a new legislative organ—a Federal Assembly consisting of two chambers: the Federation Council and the State Duma. The State Duma, which works permanently, elaborates and adopts laws, and the Federation Council approves these laws. It will not work on laws article by article but will assemble periodically and examine what the State Duma has done from the viewpoint largely of federal interests.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Has the criticism of the Constitution by its opponents been taken into account?

[Filatov] I must immediately dot the "i's" here. The preparation of the draft constitution by the Constitutional Conference and its chambers consisted of two important periods. During the first all the proposals and comments without exception—and after publication of the draft in May 1993 there were over 5,000 of them—were examined and carefully studied. During the second stage the country's president referred the draft constitution for nationwide approval. Russians familiarized themselves with the text of the draft and determined their attitude toward the proposed version. During this period no changes were made to the draft constitution. A telephone information service was created in the Kremlin to explain the published text and each day over the course of a month it explained the provisions of the draft constitution to all callers and provided interpretations of particular articles. There were over 3,000 calls during this month. Normal productive work was carried out.

Meanwhile certain public movements were inflaming the situation in the country, fanning hysteria, and deliberately misinterpreting the draft's provisions. The "scathing criticism" by certain historians, sociologists, and political scientists was often based simply on a lack of information about the Constitution's contents. But sometimes, unfortunately, some of them were carrying out social orders. Incidentally, this was all too easy to see when, for instance, politically committed jurists began to intimidate Russians with the fatal consequences of a thoughtless action. To be honest, it is hard to believe that in Russia the people's actions are always thoughtless. The themes of the "stupid people" and the "wise leader" are all too familiar to many of us. We have experienced this for ourselves, so to speak.

I have more faith in the Russian people's wisdom, natural intelligence, and perspicacity.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] The operation of the Constitution extends to all regions, even those which voted against adopting it. How will the federal authorities act if those who rejected it refuse to live according to it?

[Filatov] The Constitution, as an integral entity, can be regarded only as a united and interconnected package of rights and responsibility for the implementation of these guaranteed rights. The fundamental law cannot be implemented selectively—I choose to implement this bit but I refuse to implement this bit. The strength of the Constitution lies in the unity and interconnection of rights and duties. Only then does the mechanism of guarantees on the part of the state begin to operate.

The text of the Constitution begins with the words "We, the multinational people of the Russian Federation." This does not merely sound solemn, there is far more substance here than solemnity. It is the people, the entire people, not some section of them, that have adopted new rules for the country's life. We the people take on all the problems, we the people take on all the difficulty of making tricky decisions, we the people really become responsible for our future and the future of new generations.

There is only one solution for contentious issues—calm, considered, reasoned, and professionally competent examination of contentious issues in the Constitutional Court. In fact, this is the reason why the judicial branch exists. It is called upon to harmonize interests and to see that law triumphs over the unruly wishes of each individual.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Now for some questions about what the new Constitution brings for ordinary people. For instance, Article 2 asserts that the state undertakes

the obligation of recognizing and observing human and civil rights and freedoms. Moreover, Article 18 says that rights and freedoms are direct-acting. How does this work in practice?

[Filatov] An unquestioned achievement of the new Constitution is the fact that it is direct-acting, that is, the norms enshrined in it cannot be "adjusted" for the worse by subsequent laws. Take Article 18, for instance. It states that human and civil rights and freedoms are direct-acting. This is not merely instructions to the Federal Assembly, the president, and the government to adopt their enactments within the framework of the Constitution's provisions. This statement is the legal basis for the defense of human rights via the courts. And it would be a question of a direct violation of the Constitution, not merely of some legal provision. As you can see, the state's legal guarantees are of a very different, higher level.

We are steadily moving forward and developing society's legal culture. As you can see, the process is not only complex but, most importantly, affects all society and requires a totally different type of relationship between the citizen and the state. We are still not used to this kind of interdependence. But we will have to get used to it.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] The Constitution apparently creates colossal scope for implementing human rights. But how will the fulfillment of these rights be guaranteed? For instance, one of the Constitution's norms proclaims the individual's right to travel freely and choose his place of stay and residence.

How is this norm going to enter into effect? After all, it is well known that the institution of residence permits still exists and, moreover, special procedures for the registration of visiting citizens have been introduced for Moscow and St. Petersburg. Won't this norm come into conflict with other human rights?

Or to take another example, Article 21 says that the dignity of the individual is protected by the state and nothing may be grounds for disparaging it. But today our dignity is disparaged at virtually every step: in dirty stores, on poorly maintained streets, in the subway and streetcars, in social security and housing offices.... It is hard to imagine that this norm will begin to operate....

Is there any need, in our [as published] view, for the president and government to take special measures to ensure that the Constitution begins to operate right from the outset?

[Filatov] Unfortunately, your questions are typical of our legal awareness. Or, to be more accurate, of the legal awareness of yesterday's Soviet person.

I know it is not so easy to become a Russian citizen, someone for whom democratic norms must be customary and natural. The main difficulty in the way of our "legal maturity" is to overcome the echoes of yesterday's ideas molded by Soviet reality. Paternalism—the belief in the all-powerfulness of the state and the expectation of often totally unjustified and unrealistic favors from it—has thoroughly corrupted us. It is like in a family where the parents alone bear the entire burden of problems, the children usually lack willpower and are weak.

Judge for yourselves. Even since the nationwide referendum approving the new Constitution we have been living in a world of illusory expectation that someone—the president or the government—will come along and the dirt in stores and the subway will vanish while social security offices will begin to dote on pensioners and veterans. I think that there is all too much simple passive and lazy waiting for the same old favors in this attitude. Nothing comes along or happens automatically. That truth is as banal as it is real and vital.

I reiterate the thought that the Constitution is a contract for us all and a code of basic rules of life that will make our society richer and more free. But not automatically, without our doing anything, but precisely thanks to us, thanks to our labor!

As I conclude, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that, despite all the problems, it is New Year. So let us forget all our problems for a moment and feel light and relief in our hearts. Let the mood be good in the new year, may children and grandchildren bring joy to our homes, and let us learn to live in peace and harmony! Happy New Year to everyone, I wish you new happiness!

Gaydar Reviews 1993 Events, Previews New Year

MK0401123094 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 4

[Interview with First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar by Yelena Vishnevskaya in the "Forecast" column; place and date not given: "What Gaydar Can Be Blamed For"]

[Text] [Vishnevskaya] What is awaiting Russia and the Russians in the new year? I put this question to First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar on the eve of the holiday. Now I can see that his answers will not please everybody. Therefore you will have to decide yourselves for what to blame Gaydar.

First all of, I would like to know which course the reforms may take: "onward" or "backward"? And which actions by the authorities can indicate to us, the philistines, a landmark.... I was asking Yegor Timurovich about his forecasts for the future in the sphere of economics but, to be sure, in responding to them, he could not do without politics.

[Gaydar] It is an unrewarding business to make predictions. Especially since the situation in economics and in politics this new year will depend not so much on the auspiciousness of the stars as on the conclusions drawn from the events of the outgoing year. I can say one thing with certainty, though: The Russians will be scolding the authorities.

[Vishnevskaya] This is what authority is for—to criticize it. This is so natural! In any country, let alone ours, with so many outstanding problems....

[Gaydar] The whole point is for what they are blamed. If for the fact that although there are goods in the shops, the shop windows and shelves are still a far cry not only from those in Brussels but even in Warsaw.... And prices keep growing, although at a slower pace than just recently. But they keep growing anyway! And the fact that production has to be restructured and that it has become difficult to market goods owing to competition and even to reduce personnel, which is especially painful and hard, and that those dismissed cannot find a job in their speciality—if this is what they blame it for, let them. This is like a sobering cold shower—not to slacken. But if it is blamed for the fact that some goods are not available at any price while those that do appear on the shelves are so expensive that they are beyond reach, that money again is losing value, that the ruble is depreciating with every passing day, that savings can be kept only in hard currency, but this is impossible because its cash circulation has been banned, that the producers and the consumers are deeply in debt to each other.... well, then, here things are bound to go beyond mere grumbling.

[Vishnevskaya] The latter scenario is too familiar: It is reminiscent of 1992. Again the same old story? Is this possible?

[Gaydar] Alas, if we get frightened once again and, instead of continuing a tough policy but the only feasible economic one, begin to pump the country with money, then inflation will accelerate in spring, leading to nonpayments, a budget crisis, and then an economic crisis. And whereas last year the fluctuations in economic policy were if not justified then at least explicable, this year they are fraught with catastrophe and are definitely not inevitable.

[Vishnevskaya] But possible? There are prerequisites for that. The present parliament differs little from the previous one. It seems that two months ago you said that you were haunted by a terrible dream: You enter the State Duma and what you see is the Supreme Soviet.... Has the nightmare become a reality?

[Gaydar] Well, the situation surely cannot be called satin smooth [barkhatnaya]. Yet I have never worked in a satin smooth situation.... As for today's situation, it is radically different from that in September. At that time there was a severe conflict between the parliament and the government, with the president's edicts being immediately countermanded and with a complete power vacuum in the regions while decisions made at the center by one power branch were blocked at the local level by another branch; there was no budget for the fourth quarter. Things were heading toward a political crisis.

[Vishnevskaya] And did come to it.

[Gaydar] But now the situation is different! There is the main thing—the constitution, and within its framework, separation of powers. There is a strong presidency. And the parliament, too, is different. We have the largest faction in it, which, including the presidential power of veto, can block most irresponsible decisions.

[Vishnevskaya] And what if it cannot? The faction is large, all right, but Russia's Choice is not a parliamentary majority. The government, too, after the elections, has acquired a coalition character, which is obvious to all. Is normal work possible in such conditions without infighting and confrontation?

[Gaydar] Our disagreements are largely exaggerated. Of course, they are there but they relate to "superficial" matters and, moreover, are easily removed. For instance, the Yabloko bloc believes that the main shortcoming in government performance is its weak antimonopoly policy. Who would disagree with that?! Are there any ideas on strengthening it? Are there people to translate these ideas into life? You are most welcome into the government to implement them! Naturally, we shall not be demanding that anyone either recognize the flawlessness of our policy or publicly renounce their own views.

[Vishnevskaya] Does this mean that the road into the executive branch is open to all regardless of political persuasions?

[Gaydar] To all who can and want to work in it, implementing its program. I am categorically against people opposed to the program joining it—no, not the program of Russia's Choice but of the government. Their place is in parliament where they can argue, promote their ideas, and in the end exercise control.

[Vishnevskaya] And what if such "promoters" are in the majority within the government?

[Gaydar] This would mean a change of course. Then the Russia's Choice faction will have to decide on the expediency of some of its members working in it. But I do not think that things will come to that. In any event, we are not making any ultimatums or conditions.

[Vishnevskaya] But the policy of the present government is also far from ideal. For instance, you are being criticized for artificially maintaining the ruble rate against the dollar.

[Gaydar] This is from the "what they blame us for" series of questions. So far the ruble is not overrated: In its purchasing power the ruble approximates 30 cents. This is how it should be in an economy at our level of development. Questions arise for a different reason. In 1992, when the rate was strongly devalued, it appeared profitable to take any raw materials out of the country at any price, an opportunity used by many. We were criticized for that (and quite justly, too!). Today it is not beneficial to "dump" Russian raw materials on the world market at throwaway prices, and we are being admonished for that. And it is good that we are! There is

no such task as to take the resources out of the country: You can trade in what yields a profit.

[Vishnevskaya] This means that the ruble rate is downgraded, although it is realistic. At what level are you going to maintain it?

[Gaydar] We shall try to make sure that its growth proceeds at half the rate of inflation.

[Vishnevskaya] Incidentally, inflation in December is expected at a level of 12 percent. This, however, does not include the last week of the year, which can change the entire picture. Is this a result of government policy?

[Gaydar] It certainly is. Please note that in December there were payments to pensioners, and the "Vorkuta" problem was resolved. Overall, during the year the inflation growth rate has more than halved. If we go on like this—and we set the target of bringing it down to 5 percent by the end of 1994—the main thing will be accomplished: It will become profitable to invest in production. Combined with tax breaks for producers, this constitutes a foundation for industrial revival in 1995.

[Vishnevskaya] A rosy prospect, although a very remote one. And what kind of "new life" will begin at the start of the new year? Prices will jump, of course....

[Gaydar] Only to the extent to which we shall not be able to restrain inflation. As for imports, the new year is no threshold here. New import duties have been postponed until March. Moreover, they will not bring about any revolution in prices.

[Vishnevskaya] What will they be like? There are various rumors to that effect.

[Gaydar] They will be various, exactly. High for luxury goods and low for staples. The basic principle is that import duties should bring revenues to the state treasury and protect domestic producers. That they must be introduced, all government members are sure.

[Vishnevskaya] Why then not as of 1 January?

[Gaydar] The level of duties is a matter of dispute, mainly for agricultural produce. Our agro-industrial departments represented in the government by Aleksandr Zaveryukha are insisting on a "prohibitive" level of duties to discourage the import of foodstuffs. Others maintain that they should be made normal, not protecting Russian producers from competition but stimulating it.

[Vishnevskaya] And how will this dispute affect prices in the shops?

[Gaydar] High import duties mean a jump in prices not only for foreign goods, which may not be so terrible after all. But also increases in domestic prices: Moscow sausages will be competing not with Dutch sausages but with Orel sausages, whose prime cost is no lower.

[Vishnevskaya] But Muscovites are buying for the most part on another market: It is enough to go to the Kievskiy or the Belorusskiy railway terminal.

[Gaydar] Duties have nothing to do with this! Incidentally, there are no duties on the output by the main agricultural exporters to Russia—the majority of our former Union republics. While we were being criticized for lacking a position on relations with the CIS states, we concluded free trade agreements with them. Therefore prohibitive tariffs on food imports from there have been blocked by a system of interstate agreements.

[Vishnevskaya] And one final question: With what feeling did First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar see out the year 1993, which has been so rich in events?

[Gaydar] I have found myself is a rather funny situation. I worked in the government in 1993 for slightly more than a quarter of a year, since 20 September, and by the moment the election campaign got under way, it appeared that the "Gaydar team" was responsible for everything. Those who were there for the whole year got away with impunity, as it were. We became the only ones who did not reject criticisms and complaints. As a result, we had the unpleasant duty of responding without the pleasant comfort of making decisions, administering, and being in control. I have drawn a lesson from this situation: One must never create the illusion of responsibility for decisions made as part of a political line which is pursued not by you and not in the way you think is reasonable.

Procuracy Chief Reviews Achievements

LD0401224194 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Aleksey Kazannik regards the preservation of the procuracy system as his main contribution in the post of Russia's general procurator. Summing up the results of his work in 1993, in an interview to INTERFAX, he stressed that he sees in this one of the guarantees for the unity and integrity of Russia. Kazannik also said that the General Procuracy has dismissed all cases involving charges of economic crimes which were instigated for political reasons so as to compromise political figures.

Touching on his predecessor Valentin Stepankov, the general procurator told journalists that on 24 December he signed an edict sacking him from the bodies of the procuracy. After his resignation, Stepankov was offered various fields of work, including the post of trade counsellor at the Russian Embassy in Malta.

Aleksey Kazannik also said that criminal proceedings on charges of corruption are soon to be instituted against Viktor Barannikov and Andrey Dunayev.

In conclusion Russia's general procurator gave the assurance that he will not allow the examination of the case concerning the Moscow events of early October 1993 to be spun out over a long period.

Gorbachev Views Current Politics, NATO

AU0401171594 Poznan WPROST in Polish 26 Dec 93 pp 58, 59

[Interview with Mikhail Gorbachev by Waldemar Gontarski and Iwona Parchimowicz in Moscow; date not given: "The Return of the Bolsheviks"]

[Text] [WPROST] What do you think of the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon?

[Gorbachev] Do not fear the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon. The voters voted for his party in order to express their disapproval of the authorities in power until now. The result of the voting is merely a reflection of their disapproval of those at the head of the government. Do not think that fascist ideology enjoys such a great success in our society, and that a fascist ego dwells in the Russian soul.

[WPROST] Do you sympathize with Yavlinskiy's group?

[Gorbachev] I do nothing surreptitiously. I am closely watching Yavlinskiy's group, Travkin's Democratic Party of Russia, and the Civic Union. To be honest, the Union has lost its distinctness, even though realists, entrepreneurs, and economic activists, people who control the economic situation on a day-to-day basis, are connected with it. Very much depends on these people, and they are backed by the masses. However, on a Federation level, people from the Union are looking about them as if they do not know what to do. I find this very sad, and that is why I support Yavlinskiy, even though I should be supporting the Alliance.

[WPROST] What made you decide to vote in favor of the constitution proposed by Boris Yeltsin?

[Gorbachev] I am in favor of Yeltsin's draft, but it still requires a lot of hard work on it in the State Duma. There are two issues in particular that must be considered. First, there is no balance between the different types of authority at the Federation level. I support the idea of a presidential republic, which means a strong president and strong government. But I cannot come to terms with the pitiful situation in which our parliament has found itself. A strong president, plus a strong parliament and independent Constitutional Court—that is the arrangement that best suits Russia's interests. Yet the president is keeping the candidacies for the Constitutional Court in his pocket. There is still the problem of the conflict between the center and the regions. The provinces are prepared to assume responsibility, but first they must be granted the relevant powers. How can one undertake privatization and bring help to the poorest sectors of society if one does not have any powers, for example a suitable fiscal policy?

As far as the parliamentary election is concerned, it is difficult to consider it a free election. It has been called for by the very authorities that are taking part in it. These authorities will now appoint election commissions, and in the end they will count the votes themselves.

[WPROST] Then why are you taking part in such an election?

[Gorbachev] Because we must pass through all this as quickly as possible, for there is no return to the past. Let the authorities display their programs, then we will see what it is they want. A politician may convince his opponents, but he cannot escape from real life. And Russia's political reality is such that if the present ruling team does not alter its program, we are going to bear the consequences. But their are incapable of making changes. I can see how very undecided they are. President Yeltsin says "one cannot rely on force any longer," Gaydar says one can, and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin simply says "the era of shock therapy is over." They are all beginning to play for time. The prime minister fell ill just before the election. I wish him health, of course, but his sickness occurred at the best possible time. Gaydar attempted dialogue with the miners and withdrew straightaway. The miners stuck to their guns. And how many more collective interests like this are there?

[WPROST] In that case, when will the next putsch take place?

[Gorbachev] It is possible to avoid such an eventuality. This election has enabled various parties and groups to consolidate. Now the process of forming coalitions and joint programs will be faster. Perhaps that is the only favorable result of the election, although the new parliament will once again consist of a mixture of people from whom one does not know what to expect. All sorts of surprises are in store for is.

[WPROST] Who is going to head the new government? Will Yeltsin want to choose between Chernomyrdin and Gaydar?

[Gorbachev] For some time now, the president has kept a distance from Russia's Choice in order at appear as a neutral referee, the leader of the nation. Yeltsin has said that he will cooperate with all the parties that enter parliament. And yet his entire sympathies lie with Russia's Choice. He is also playing for time.

[WPROST] Gennadiy Burbulis, strategist from Russia's Choice, has admitted that, in the long run, Yeltsin might be merely an unnecessary burden on the Democrats.

[Gorbachev] Have you not noticed that the Democrats are distancing themselves from the president and turning themselves into an independent force? Notice what Gavril Popov said: "I have resigned from the post of mayor of Moscow because I do not want to become a second Rutskoy, a representative of authority without any powers. I do not agree with the president." They have started their own game and they do not need the president. But Yeltsin has noticed everything, and the conduct of the "democrats" is not escaping the attention of the Kremlin's advisers.

[WPROST] Will you take an active part in political life after the elections?

[Gorbachev] I am already doing so by talking to you.

[WPROST] I meant political activity.

[Gorbachev] The students union of Nizhniy Novgorod has suggested that I run for parliament. I have also received offers form Moscow, St. Petersburg, and the northern Caucasus. I refused, because I do not want to assume any state post. For the time being, I see no reason to alter my present status. And later? We will see.

[WPROST] What is your attitude toward the present Russian president?

[Gorbachev] That is not going to distract my attention. His attitude toward me should not concern you, and my attitude toward him even less so. We can discuss politics, you are most welcome to do so. After all, Russia requires a complete change of politics. Look where the policies pursued over the past two years have brought us—the Bolsheviks are back in the Kremlin. Until now I have called them neo-Bolsheviks, but now I see that they are real. They are using the same methods of action, only under a different banner. The Bolsheviks of 1917 chased everyone off to the state farms, today's Bolsheviks are chasing everyone away from them. What kind of democrats are they? The individual means nothing to them, that is why I shun calling them democrats.

[WPROST] What about the Army?

[Gorbachev] The Army should not be brought out onto the streets. Everything should be resolved by political means.

[WPROST] Would you not have brought the tanks out into the streets on 3 and 4 October?

[Gorbachev] I tried to do that in March 1991, but I quickly realized how it would end. Therefore I ordered the soldiers back to their barracks.

[WPROST] You are sneering at Russian domestic policy. What about foreign policy? According to Yeltsin, when Germany united in 1990, you reached an agreement with Western leaders that NATO would not expand eastwards.

[Gorbachev] That is right. International agreements contain a clause whereby neither NATO, nor even the FRG itself, will deploy any forces on the territory of the former GDR [German Democratic Republic]. I think the question of the admission of Central and Eastern European countries to NATO has been wrongly presented. Perhaps it is because the Americans are needlessly afraid that their role will diminish. The Europeans should explain to them that Europe must decisively shape its own future with the participation of the United States and Canada. Such is the reality of international politics. Everything else is merely a game.

However, there is something else that worries me more. Perhaps Russia has made people nervous because of its "imperial" way of behavior or because of some of the statements made by Russian politicians. Basically there is nothing behind these statements, but they have been made nonetheless. Representatives of the authorities have begun to compete with "patriots" to see who can best defend Russia's interests. They all realize that society is stunned by the collapse of the USSR and the socialist camp. However, the road to reconstructing the state follows a different course. Our friends in Central and Eastern Europe should be clearly told that Russia will never conduct warfare. Such activity should be rejected once and for all. We must build a common European home, and from both directions, east and west. Despite everything, structures common to the entire continent should be formed.

[WPROST] We were building a common European home when you were still in office.

[Gorbachev] There are mechanisms that exist on paper, there is the Paris Charter, and nothing should be added to them. However there is a lack of real instruments, various institutions, with the aid of which one might fulfill these plans. For example, Europe needs a security council. Expanding alliances is a bad solution, because it divides Europe instead of uniting it. Do we want to proceed from one division to another? Are 12 NATO member-countries to determine the fate of the entire continent?

Poll Shows Public Perceptions of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy

PM0401160194 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 5

[Artem Emilyev report: "Mosaic Portrait of Yavlinskiy"]

[Text] To what extent are you familiar with G. Yavlinskiy's activity?—a questionnaire from the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion enquires. One of the most widespread replies (34 percent) is: "I have some idea of him from newspapers and from television interviews." An equal number of those polled say that they know of Yavlinskiy only by hearsay, while approximately 23 percent claim not to be familiar with his name (what radio-less backwoods did they helicopter in the questionnaire leaflets to?). Five percent, however, have a good idea of Yavlinskiy's person, being familiar with his works and his political platform, and a further 4 percent know of the results of his activity in his state post. It is out of such motley fragments that Yavlinskiy's portrait takes shape. Although the smalt from which this mosaic portrait is made is of varying brilliance and quality, recently it has been attracting attention increasingly frequently. What is it that makes us stop stop to look at it in the midst of a busy schedule? Precisely 28 percent of those polled acknowledge Yavlinskiy's high level of education and intellect, 10 percent perceive boldness in his activity, 9 percent value his principledness, and the same percentage value his ability to talk with people (incidentally, 6 percent of those questioned believe that he expounds his thoughts in too complex a manner and

that it is difficult for an untrained person to understand him). Yavlinskiy's positive image is supplemented by the 5 percent who emphasized his political wisdom, 4 percent noted as a virtue the fact that he is a practical person and an active politician, and 7 percent have felt his personal charm.

But the portrait would be flat if it were without shadows: 3 percent of those who participated in creating the mosaic noticed in their model a political opportunism and even unscrupulousness, 2 percent noticed a superficiality, and 9 percent rebuke Yavlinskiy with being a pure theoretician and armchair scientist.

And yet these dark stains do not overshadow the bright aspects in the image of the person sitting for his portrait. Proof of this is provided by the reply to an intriguing question in the questionnaire: If Yeltsin does not declare his candidacy in the presidential election and you have to choose between Yegor Gaydar and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, for example, for whom would you cast your vote? It turned out that 25 percent would prefer Yavlinskiy and 19 percent Gaydar. If there were a similar confrontation with Aleksandr Rutskoy, in the respondents' opinion Yavlinskiy would achieve a still more convincing victory (32 percent against 18 percent). One of the reasons for this success is that, according to 16 percent, he expresses the interests of the widest sections of the population. It is curious that 1 percent of those who replied to the questionnaire perceived Yavlinskiy as a stooge of the West, 2 percent, conversely, as a supporter of "the regime" and a champion of Great Russia, while a similar percentage consider him altogether a supporter of "socialism with a human face." But the majority (21 percent) agree that Yavlinskiy advocates democratic reforms but has serious disagreements with Yeltsin and the present government. In these disagreements the respondents frequently prefer Yavlinskiy. In the list of statesmen who hypothetically could improve the situation in our economy the majority (22 percent) prefer him, 17 percent prefer Gaydar, 7 percent Yeltsin, and 5 percent Shakhray. In this same category first place is allocated to Yavlinskiy when it is a question of the ability to ensure compliance with social justice.

On looking at this portrait, the assembled people started sharing their impressions. The most enthusiastic (6 percent) said: "I would like him to become president." Cautious people (18 percent) put them right: "I believe that he should hold some other high state post." Others (19 percent) noted categorically: "He should work in the government or parliament, but under the leadership of a more influential politician." Others (35 percent) spoke out altogether definitely: "It is hard to say, as he has not yet shown his worth." Will there be any other opinions?

President's Analytical Center Takes Shape

MK0501112094 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 5 Jan 94 p 2

[INFORM-KURANTY report: "Brainstorming in the Kremlin"]

[Text] A certain shakeup in the top spheres of the Kremlin's "gray matter" has begun whose aim is allegedly to bring together intellectual pro-presidential forces into a single fist in the shape of a major analytical center. The well-known results of the recent parliamentary elections having been noted, a whole company of official presidential advisers—recruited at one time or another more on the nomenklatura basis—were given their marching orders in the Kremlin, and now they have started uniting the ranks of presidential experts.

Knowledgeable people believe that some analytical structure is taking shape within the president's staff. It will be tasked with refining the strategic political line, and elaborating a course for the future development of which the head of state is responsible under the new constitution. The sphere of interests of the new supercenter will include strategic problems of both foreign and domestic policy.

Experts' Security Strategy Document Reviewed

PM0401134394 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 5

[Article by I. Sokovnin: "Main Guideline"]

[Text] Russia 1994. The Strategy of Security. A special report by scientific center leaders and experts on this vitally important topic has been published in a special issue of the RAU-corporation's information and analytical weekly OBOZREVATEL. This report will be issued to all State Duma and Federation Council deputies since it is intended primarily for people who make political decisions or take part in their preparation.

The new Federal Assembly has to begin work at a dramatic and crucial period in Russia's history. The country's fate in forthcoming years will depend largely on the present-day decisions of the legislative and executive organs of power.

Will the present crisis be overcome or not—that is the question. Suffice it to say that the year of 1992 went down in Russia's history with an extremely alarming outcome. For the first time in peace time the death rate exceeded the birth rate. Over the first nine months of 1993 the situation deteriorated still further—the death rate exceeded the birth rate by 0.5 million. That means that there is a real threat to the existence and survival of the nation itself.

Today we must assess soberly and without prejudice the situation in which the country has found itself and ascertain the reasons which have led to such a tragic development of events.

The authors of the report believe that it is essential to renounce an excessively ideological assessment of events and the traditional habit of forcing these assessments to fit the short-term goals and aims of particular political parties. Before it is too late the interests of the people

and the country as a whole must be put foremost—not verbally, as has been the case before, but in practical actions.

The main principle of state policy in our day is less ideology, and more science, pragmatism, and national consensus. Otherwise, with the present split, it is impossible to elaborate a correct and effective policy for effecting transformations to society and the economy. This approach is especially important in ensuring the Russian state's security.

Above all, the report's authors believe, we must clearly determine Russian national interests and the priorities which accord both with the interests of individual citizens and of society as a whole and among these put foremost those on which the existence of the state itself depends. On this basis scientists propose to elaborate a program of reforms in the interests of all society as a whole, and not of individual strata of society.

A program which is of a national nature, a realistic, pragmatic program free of any form of dominant ideology—that is what our country is in extreme need of today. The authors of the analytical report about Russia's future rightly emphasize that the Fatherland's citizens have the right to know and are even obliged to know the nature of the latest "bright horizons" which are being offered to them, the way in which reforms will be conducted, and how much time they will take. Citizens have the right not only to question but also to completely disagree with a proposed program and ultimately to demand a report on the government's activity.

As the recent elections showed, the country needs a government which can find a way out of the crisis. All democratic forces interested in Russia's conservation and prosperity are called on to unite on this government's nationwide platform.

For this scientists propose not so much an economic as a comprehensive program of actions. Russia's national security strategy in 1994 should include, first, the renunciation of the extremes of the political struggle and the consolidation of legality and law and order, second, a fruitful struggle for Russia's economic, financial, and political independence, third, a series of effective measures, not propaganda measures, to improve the living conditions of Russia's citizens and above all of the least protected of them—pensioners, the sick, children, and the disabled—and, fourth, the resurrection of Russia's spiritual potential. The report offers a detailed analysis and a package of measures for all these avenues.

Organized Crime Widespread Throughout Russia

LD0401135994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1246 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—"There is no single centre of organised crime in Russia. However, there have been attempts by criminal rings to coordinate their illegal activities in the regions. And these attempts have not always been unsuccessful," First Deputy Interior Minister of Russia Colonel-General Mikhail Yegorov said in his opening report on "business and crime in Russia," delivered to a three-day international seminar "for honest business," which opened at the Russian Management Academy here today. The seminar is being attended by economists, law scholars, bankers, and heads of commercial structures from practically all the CIS countries.

General Yegorov noted that organised crime today controlled about 40,000 commercial and state enterprises and organisations. Capital, earned in recent years, is being multiplied mainly by means of illegal financial transactions involving forged advice notes, automobile trade, drug-trafficking and trade in armaments.

The struggle for spheres of influence among various criminal gangs is continuing unabated. According to Yegorov, from 600 to 700 cases of racketeering, from 10 to 15 cases of hostage-taking, and from 30 to 35 armed clashes between gangs are now being registered every month.

Yegorov noted that the professionalism of criminals had increased. This is borne out by the recent assassinations of prominent bankers and businessmen.

The deputy minister urged businessmen to stop doubting the efficiency of law enforcement bodies. He stressed, in particular, that "full-blooded" units to combat organised crime were formed in all the regions of the country, and that they were prepared to react promptly and effectively to any extreme situation. "To ensure honest business, we are able to take upon ourselves the tasks of guarding commercial buildings, transporting valuables and other cargoes, installing alarm systems, which will bring our men to the spot within a few minutes. We need common tactics to coordinate the actions of private security services and official law enforcement bodies," Yegorov stated.

Panel Readies Federal Anticrime Program

PM0401153594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 94 First Edition p 7

[Nikolay Burbyga report: "Another Program Created in Fight Against Crime. But Will Life Become Safer?"]

[Text] The Security Council Interdepartmental Commission for Combatting Crime and Corruption has elaborated a federal program to combat this evil. It will be presented for the scrutiny of the Security Council in the near future.

In an exclusive interview with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, Major General of Justice Anatoliy Korotkov, leader of a Russian Federation Security Council Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption working group, reported that whereas previously

the fight against crime has been conducted in an uncoordinated manner by different departments, now the first attempt has been made to coordinate all these efforts and to resolve at state level the problem of protecting the life and health of Russian citizens.

But how is it planned to combat crime—whose scale and pace are increasing almost daily?

In Korotkov's opinion, reorganization will be necessary in the spheres of both legislation and organization. It is planned to direct all law enforcement activities toward protecting the rights of the individual. Today, for example, if your car is stolen, in practice nobody bears responsibility for this. But now, according to the new program, it will not only be the thief who is responsible for the theft but also the staffers of the law enforcement agency on whose territory the theft took place and who were unable to guarantee the automobile's safety.

Today, he says, we have for the first time come up against a new type of crime—contract killing. In developed capitalist countries it is not ordinary policemen who fight hired killers but specially trained professionals. But here it is basically precinct cops who fight hired killers. We have proved unprepared both morally and legislatively for the struggle against this new type of crime. Hence the low rate of detection. The new program pays much attention to this new type of crime and envisages the creation of a special antiterrorist center.

Media Issues

Press Strike Decision Possible on 5 Jan

PM0401204794 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[Sergey Knyazkov report followed by editorial afterword: "Will IZVESTIYA, PRAVDA, and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Come Out as Always in Morning Without Holdups?"]

[Text] No, the question posed in the headline is by no means rhetorical, as it seems at first glance, because Decree No. 1233 "On the Reevaluation of Fixed Capital at Enterprises in the National Economy," adopted by the Russian Government 25 November 1993, came into force 1 January. Effectively this decree suspends the publication of all newspapers and journals, since the 25-30-percent increase in the value of printing enterprises' fixed capital is leading to approximately a 500-percent increase in prices for printing services! This cannot be borne either by a single publishing house, even the most prosperous one, or the reader, who has already paid newspaper and journal subscriptions and at excessively high prices.

Alas, however hard this is to come to terms with, yet another cruel blow is being aimed at the press, glasnost, freedom of speech, and what are virtually Russian democracy's most significant achievements. Each time it follows the peak of the latest political action, in this case the Federal Assembly elections. It is even somehow embarrassing to recall the government's repeated promises to sort out the questions relating to prices for printed publications, mail service chaos, and customs barriers hindering newspaper and journal distribution. The promise to privatize printing bases with the participation of journalists was simply not kept....

Concerned by the situation that has developed, on 30 December leaders of the Union of Journalists of Russia, the Union of Journalists of Moscow, the Association of Publishers and Chief Editors, the Committee To Protect Freedom of Speech and Journalists' Rights, and the Foundation for the Protection of Glasnost, as well as the chief editors of almost all central and leading Moscow newspapers, delivered a statement to Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

The appeal suggests avoiding this blow against freedom of speech either by means of targeted subsidies or by establishing a special procedure for implementing this decree in the spheres of printing, mail, communications, and paper production. Otherwise, the appeal says, "we will have no option but to appeal to readers and to the people, urging and asking them to defend their newspapers and journals, their right to be well-informed on matters of state, society, and the world.... Finally, our journalists' collectives will simply have to stop work, and this means that both print shops and publishing houses will be idle. We state that we are prepared to suspend the publication of our publications as early as in the 'parliamentary week'—from 10 through 17 January 1994."

The journalists are not joking. Yesterday at a press conference in which leaders of the Union of Journalists of Russia, the Union of Journalists of Moscow, the chief editors of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, and MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, IZVESTIYA's deputy chief editor, and others took part, the formation of a strike committee by Moscow newspapers was announced.

The government has virtually ignored the appeal. Although, for the sake of objectivity it must be admitted that when the conference was drawing to an end a possible 5 January meeting between Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and members of the Association of Publishers and Chief Editors was announced, citing Boris Mironov, acting chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for the Press....

Vsevolod Bogdanov, chairman of the Union of Journalists of Russia, stressed that the impending action is a forced measure. According to him the final decision whether to carry out the protest action will be made 5 January. [Knyazkov ends]

The following natural question is probably being asked by readers: How do KRASNAYA ZVEZDA staffers

react to their colleagues' statements and actions? What will they do if other publishing houses' publications are suspended?

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is a newspaper with special status, a military newspaper. Most of its journalists wear shoulder boards. A strike, the suspension of publishing, which to our civilian colleagues are a legal if extreme form of protest, would be a grave violation of the law to us. We cannot fail to take into account that in the current conditions the central military newspaper is often the most important or else the only source of information for many Army and Navy garrisons and units, including remote ones.

At the same time KRASNAYA ZVEZDA workers are, of course, in solidarity with the protest action by Russian publications' journalists. Everything they are protesting—the monopolists' price diktat, the destruction of the press distribution system, the state mail service's disgraceful work, the creation of artificial customs and currency barriers hindering a newspaper's contact with its readers—all this is very familiar indeed to us too, we are constantly experiencing all this for ourselves. The government's latest act in reevaluating fixed assets is hitting KRASNAYA ZVEZDA hard too.

We add our voice to that of our colleagues and urge that measures be urgently taken to create acceptable conditions in which the newspaper market and the distribution system can function. The survival of the press is now at stake.

Shumeyko To Meet Journalists

LD0401202294 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] It was reported today in the Russian Federation Press Committee that Government Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin has instructed Vladimir Shumeyko to hold a meeting on 5 January with members of the journalists' strike committee to work out a solution to the problem which has arisen. A final decision will be taken within the next few days at a meeting between Chernomyrdin and the editors in chief of newspapers and magazines.

Factions To Fight for Air Time, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA

MK0501114094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jan 94 p 2

[Unattributed report in "In Brief" column]

[Text] Moscow— According to Aleksey Vorobyev, press secretary of the Democratic Party of Russia, on 6 January representatives of State Duma factions formed by deputies of the Russian Agrarian Party, the Democratic Party of Russia, and the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia intend to meet to discuss prospects for resuming the "Parliamentary Hour" TV program and according ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA the status of a parliament publication. The meeting will take place in Agrarian Party headquarters. The deputies plan to ask the remaining five factions in the State Duma to support their initiative.

Unrest in Newspaper Industry Over Government Resolution

LD0401155194

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1100 GMT on 4 January broadcasts a report from the "Vesti" newscast by correspondent T. Orlova over video of printing and typesetting operations, on the newspaper printing workers' reaction to the government resolution of 25 November 1993, which forced up costs for printing and publishing services. Many publications will soon have to close altogether. Journalists and editors appealed to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on 30 December to take urgent measures; and staff of Moscow publications and regional printing organizations have set up a strike committee, which demanded subsidies for publications that have already been subscribed to, and the means to participate in privatization. Unless something is done, the week parliament opens—10-17 January—publication of newspapers will be suspended.

Over video of a news conference, Orlova goes on: "One should evidently forget about freedom and independence of the press, too. For the moment, only those publications and television and radio programs that are either financed by the government or belong to commercial organizations are able to survive. In a word, he who pays the piper plays the tune. Valeriy Kucher, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI editor in chief gave further evidence of this at a news conference today, citing information he said he had learned from authoritative government sources. A decree is being drawn up to close this newspaper and to set up on its basis a government organ named DERZHAVA (THE STATE). The reason for this is that just before the New Year, the editorial staff took its cue from the new Russian Constitution and announced that it was leaving the government's tutelage."

Radio Rossii Outlines News, Entertainment Programming

LD0401145694

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1100 GMT on 1 January carries a recorded program with correspondents Aleksey Abakumov and Marina Khomutova; commentator Sergey Kotenkov; "Vesti" program director Aleksandr Nekhoroshev, until recently director of the Radio Russia News Service; and correspondent Andrey Vishnevskiy of Radio Rossii's "Intercept" service.

Abakumov and Khomutova discuss the usual schedule of Russia's Radio News Service, which includes hourly

news bulletins and news and analytical programs every four hours. They note that the News Service produces around 500 reports on various topics daily.

Abakumov says: "If one wants to discuss the matter seriously, then news and programs on the national channel of Russia's Radio are only the visible part of the iceberg. The News Service also includes current information on the Nostalgy musical station of Radio Rossii; Voice of Russia, a radio station for listeners in neighboring and distant foreign countries; and the Intercept agency—simply speaking, a service of radio interception."

Khomutova says they would like to give the listeners a better idea of Radio Rossii's studios and editorial offices.

She says: "Let us begin with the 'Voice of Russia', since there is a formal reason for this: This station celebrates its fifth anniversary of broadcasts 24 hours a day on short wave on 1 January. The majority of the listeners live in the near and far abroad. They are compatriots who have left their homeland temporarily or permanently due to different reasons. They also include those who studied and those who are currently studying the Russian language."

Abakumov adds: "These call signals were broadcast on the air for the first time on 1 January 1991. At the time, we took over from the Russian World Service of International Moscow Radio. Voice of Russia is the only state radio station in the Russian Federation currently broadcasting in Russian for audiences around the world. A total of 10 million listeners in more than 60 countries can receive our programs on short waves."

Abakumov then invites listeners to listen to a report by special correspondent Valeriy Gorkin. Gorkin says that a friend of his once said to him that he did not see the fruits of Gorkin's work, whereas he, as a press correspondent, did see the results of his work when he saw his name under even a small article. Gorkin says that, after 25 years of work, he continues to enjoy listeners' reactions to his work by receiving letters and telephone calls from many listeners. He thanks the listeners for their kind words about the Voice of Russia.

Commentator Sergey Kotenkov then views political events that occurred in Russia in 1993—in particular, the people's behavior in the parliamentary elections in December.

Khomutova and Abakumov then discuss Radio Rossii's Nostalgy and report that it is only heard on the FM band in several Russian cities and is still popular in Russia and in France. They add that it has been popular for a number of years.

Khomutova introduces Nekhoroshev, until recently director of the Radio Rossii's News Service and currently the director of the "Vesti" program. He says that some are jealous of him moving to television. Khomutova says that his voice has become well known both to television and radio audiences.

Khomutova then introduces correspondent Andrey Vishnevskiy, who explains Radio Rossii's Intercept service.

Vishnevskiy says: "Listeners do not know us. We do not come on the air, with the exception of this brief appearance. We produce a bulletin that includes the most interesting and important reports of the world's leading radio stations. The bulletin consists of up to 20 printed pages daily. Our service, which has been independent for nearly three years, accepted a kind offer by Russia's Radio in December and has moved to in the Yamskoye Pole street.

"We hope that the fact that we have lost independence to a certain degree will not lead to giving up the main principle of Intercept, which is well-known to our old subscribers. Information of the main radio services in the world should be delivered to them unchanged. Moreover, it is not important whether it is liked or disliked. Do you want to know what Radio Liberty, the BBC, 'Voice of America' and another dozen foreign radio stations said a few hours ago? If you do, you should subscribe to Russia's Radio Intercept bulletins. It is very easy to do this: Just telephone the number 250-2398."

Khomutova says that Abakumov has been appointed director of Russia's Radio News Service. Abakumov adds that actually he is combining his new job with that of being an announcer. Khomutova asks Abakumov to briefly tell the listeners about the News Service.

Abakumov says: "News Service means five hours of broadcasting a day on the national radio channel. It means the most recent information about events in Russia and neighboring and distant foreign countries, in the political, economic, and social spheres, and on culture, sports, and the weather. Let us say we have quite a few reports by our permanent and free lance correspondents both in this country and abroad; news of major news services, our experts, and what we call reliable sources—leading Russian and foreign agencies and the hyrdometeorological center."

Abakumov notes that all levels of the society are given a chance to express their views on the events in the country. All their interlocutors are always given respectable treatment. He says that all of what he has said has had some success, but much must still be done. His dream is to create the best news service in the world in the Russian language.

Khomutova then says that today is not a day just for business but also for leisure. A sample recording of a Nostalgy program follows.

Khomutova closes by saying it is difficult to tell the listeners about everything in 20 minutes but hopes that Radio Rossii has become closer to the listeners and conveys best wishes from all Radio Rossii's services.

Paper's KURYER Section To Be Main Source for Documents

PM0401152594 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 4

[Report by Sergey Gusyakov, head of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI "documents department," under "KURYER Documents" rubric: "What KURYER Carries"]

[Text] In accordance with an edict of the Russian president, normative acts of central organs of state management are **published for the first time only in ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI.** Moreover, documents registered by the Ministry of Justice but not published in our newspaper do not entail legal consequences and are deemed not to have come into legal force. The reader of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI can find in the pages of the KURYER weekly supplement normative acts of Russian Federation ministries and departments which have undergone state registration. Before all other newspapers KURYER notifies Russians of the most recent changes to tax legislation, informs them of the procedure for floating shares, privatizing, and buying and selling private and state property, and publishes banking regulations, customs tariffs, and examples of departmental documentation.

Economic leaders, jurists, representatives of commercial structures, employees of financial and tax establishments and law enforcement organs, and also ordinary citizens whose rights, freedoms, and legitimate interests we are entrusted with representing by presidential edict can find in KURYER the answers to many topical questions, particularly those concerning the regulation of market mechanisms. KURYER has become their reliable guide in the legal and economic area which changes rapidly day by day. KURYER also ensures very prompt access to the "hottest" exclusive information from the norm-creating kitchen of ministries and departments. In short, those people who have not yet made out their subscription have an opportunity in the new year to think once again about their choice of publication. Those who have not had time to do this today will not be too late to do so tomorrow.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Edict on State Privatization Program

PM0401164194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 94 First Edition p

[Edict No. 2284 of the Russian Federation President dated 24 December 1993 and signed by Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin: "On the State Program for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation"]

[Text] For the purposes of deepening economic reforms and guaranteeing the stability of the legal bases of the unified market for facilities subject to privatization in the Russian Federation, and in line with Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 1598 of 7 October 1993 "On Legal Regulation During the Period of Stage-By-Stage Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation," I decree:

1. That the State Program for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation presented by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government be ratified and that it be brought into force as of 1 January 1994.

2. That it be incumbent upon the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government:

to draw up proposals for the introduction of the appropriate amendments and additions to existing Russian Federation tax legislation by 25 January 1994;

to prepare and publish by 25 January 1994 a Register of Enterprises Under Flotation in order to ensure the right of Russian citizens to make use of their privatization checks;

to bring normative acts promulgated on previous occasions into line with the State Program for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation by 1 February 1994;

to prepare by 1 March 1994 normative acts guaranteeing the fulfillment of the State Program for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation;

to draw up draft Russian Federation Laws "On the Privatization of State and Municipal Educational Establishments" and "On the Privatization of Health Institutions and Pharmacy Establishments and Enterprises" by 1 March 1994;

to elaborate by 1 March 1994 a draft Russian Federation Law on transforming state enterprises into treasury-funded [kazennyye] plants (factories, institutes, and other organizations) financed directly from budget funds;

to elaborate and ratify by 1 March 1994 a Statute on the Procedure for the Use of Civil Defense Facilities and Property by Privatized Enterprises, Establishments, and Organizations.

3. That it be incumbent upon the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property together with the Russian Federation State Committee for Questions of Architecture and Construction and the Russian Federation Ministry of Culture to elaborate by 1 March 1994 a Standard Protection Contract to be concluded on the privatization of vacant premises located in buildings which constitute historical and cultural monuments.

4. That it be established that the procedures set up under the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 1662 of 19 October 1993 "On Improving Payment Transactions in the Economy and Increasing Liability for Failure To Make Them on Schedule" extend to enterprises at which

the share of state ownership comprised less than 25 percent at the time that the Russian Federation president's Edict No. 1662 of 19 October 1993 was issued.

5. That it be incumbent upon the Commission for Securities and Stock Exchanges under the Russian Federation president to approve within two months a single form of certificate of entitlement to complete transactions involving securities and the procedure for issuing it.

6. That it be incumbent upon the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property and territorial property management committees to carry out in the period leading up to 1 July 1994 the necessary work to compile a list of property belonging to nonstate organizations (trade unions, the former DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy], consumer cooperatives) founded at the expense of state budget funds.

7. That the following decisions by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet aimed at curtailing the process of privatization in the Russian Federation be deemed null and void:

Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree No. 2626-1 of 30 March 1992 "On the Rightful Succession of the Russian Federal Property Fund in Respect of Part of the Property of Former USSR State Structures."

Paragraph 1, sub-paragraph "a" of Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree No. 5475-1 of 21 July 1993 "On Introducing Amendments and Additions to Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree No. 3020-1 of 27 December 1991 'On Separating State Property in the Russian Federation into Federal Property, the State Property of Republics Within the Russian Federation, Krays, Oblasts, the Autonomous Oblast, Autonomous Okrugs, the Cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and Municipal Property.'"

8. That it be incumbent upon organs of state power and administration of the republics within the Russian Federation, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and the relevant property management committees to bring republic and local privatization programs into line with the State Program for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation within two months from the day of its publication.

9. That it be incumbent upon the Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics together with the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property within a three-month period to work out the procedure and format for the presentation of statistical accounts on privatization by enterprises.

10. That the State Program for the Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the Russian Federation be published.

11. That this edict be submitted for examination by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

12. That this edict enter into force from the moment of its signing.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, The Kremlin, 24 December 1993
No. 2284

Implements New Program

LD0401163994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has brought into force the new program of privatization of state and municipal enterprises which is to regulate the privatization process in Russia beginning in 1994.

The approved state program does not greatly differ from the privatization program which was in effect in 1992-1993. The new program does not change the major peculiarity of the Russian legislature on privatization, namely privatization by means of vouchers; their term of operation is to expire on July 1, 1994.

In comparison with the previous one, the new state program expands rights of the regions and increases the list of sites, the privatization of which was earlier prohibited or restricted.

In addition, this document removes all restrictions for the participation of foreign investors in the privatization of Russian state property. According to the state program, foreign individuals and legal entities can participate in auctions and competitions organized to sell state property on equal rights with Russian investors. Foreign investors are allowed to procure state securities (including vouchers) without any coordination with the RF [Russian Federation] Finance Ministry (according to the decree on foreign investments, a foreigner had to receive permission from the Finance Ministry in order to buy state securities).

Chairman of Russia's State Property committee Dmitriy Vasilyev says that about 80

of state property is expected to be privatized by July 1, 1994. Currently, 45-50

of Russian property belongs to the private sector.

'Mafia-Like Structures' Blamed for Ruble Banknote Rumors

LD0401173794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1603 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ruslan Maysigov]

[Text] Nazran January 4 TASS—The new year has brought new problems into the Republic of Ingushetia where shops and everyday service facilities refuse to accept 50,000 rouble banknotes from their clients under various pretexts.

The republic has been lately swept by rumours about an upcoming money reform in Russia. Having learnt the bitter lesson of previous money reforms, workers and employees of state organisations and enterprises also refuse to take their salaries in 50,000 rouble notes. Earlier such rumours rattled the neighbouring Chechen Republic.

Meanwhile, black marketeers and shadow economy dealers are buying up the rejected bills for 45,000 roubles in banknotes of 10,000 and 5,000 rouble denomination.

abdul-Khamid Aushev, a Russian Central Bank representative in Ingushetia, said that "such rumours are being spread by mafia-like structures and hard currency dealers for their own benefit." Aushev said he had contacted the Central Bank which had denied these rumours as groundless.

Military & Space Issues

Local Commanders Discuss Internal Troops' Problems

PM0401124394 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By Sergey Shevtsov and Aleksandr Vissarionov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Shevtsov over video of troops on maneuvers] For the internal troops, just as for the entire country, this year has been extremely difficult and even dramatic. In the most difficult conditions, officers and men continued to guard important state installations and special cargoes as well as corrective-labor camps.

Together with other internal affairs personnel they performed successfully in the special operations Gastroler, Signal, Koltso and Arsenal.

In the state of emergency regions troop units carried out over 70 operations, seized thousands of firearms and other weapons, and saved the lives of hundreds of innocent people.

This and many other difficult problems and tasks for the internal troops were discussed today by Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs okrug commanders and troop training establishment chiefs who participated in an all-Russia rally.

Military Chiefs View 'New-Generation' Fighter Prototype

PM0401130394 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0655 GMT 2 Jan 94

[Report over video of test flight of new fighter aircraft; from the "Polygon" program]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent over video of fighter aircraft on tarmac and taking off] No awesome name has yet been thought up for this aircraft. Its specifications remain secret for the time being, but even the first test flight has made it clear that what we see here is the super-fighter of the 21st century. In terms of flight specifications this fighter has no parallel in aviation history. Russian scientists and military people believe that this super-fighter will largely determine the development of world aircraft building.

It is amazing that this machine has appeared now, during a period of protracted economic crisis, Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin and Russian Air Force Commander in Chief Petr Deynekin stressed in our interview.

[Kokoshin] The first flight has been very successful. I consider this an important milestone in the emergence of essentially a new-generation aircraft.

[Deynekin] I believe that we can confidently and objectively claim today that Russia always had, has, and will continue to have wings.

General Staff To Carry Out Plans for Downsizing

MK0401110094 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Hold the Front Page!" rubric: "Military Ruse"]

[Text] The Russian Defense Ministry's General Staff has decided to carry out plans for its own reduction in its own manner.

It has become known to MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS from reliable sources that not a single officer will be discharged from the General Staff. There will be a reduction nevertheless. Several subunits will be detached from General Staff directorates and transformed into several sectors [napravleniya]. All the officers will remain in their positions and will not lose even a kopeck of their salaries. Defense Ministry chiefs will be able to report a 30-percent personnel cut.

This is not the first time the military has resorted to such a ruse. At one time, the Central Command Post was withdrawn from the Main Operations Directorate of the General Staff. Those at the top were told about a 50-percent cut. Several months after, part of the subunits were taken back. The same will happen now too.

Russia Plans To Double Arms Trade in 1994

LD2812151393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1452 GMT 28 Dec 93

[By Business-TASS]

[Text] Moscow December 28 TASS—Russia has good chances to double its exports of military equipment in 1994 thanks to the work in the past two years which can result in major contracts, according to Foreign Trade Minister Oleg Davydov.

According to experts of his ministry, Russia exported armaments worth 1.2 billion U.S. dollars in 1993.

A major contract on shipments of MiG-29 fighter planes to Malaysia is expected early next year, Davydov told Business-TASS on Tuesday.

The minister denied allegations that Russia had sustained considerable losses by ceasing military shipments to former Soviet allies as those were mostly free of charge deliveries.

"for political reasons we have stopped arms shipments to a number of warring countries - Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia and others. But Russia did not practically earn any money from that. Now the arms trade is going on only for hard currency", Davydov said.

The minister hopes the creation of the "Rosvooruzhenie" company which is to unite major Russian military exporters will open new prospects for arms trade.

He added that his ministry retains the licencing right, will draft intergovernmental agreements and carry out export control.

MiG Builders Divert Into Light Plane Production

PM0401162194 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 93

[By Aleksandr Galkin and Sergey Vikulin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Galkin over video of MiG assembly hall] This is the Moscow Aviation Production Association named for Dementyev. It is marking its centennial today. It all began with the "Duks" bicycle. [passage omitted]

Later the "Duks" plant became the "Znamya Truda," working exclusively for military aviation during the past decades and achieving unique productivity and quality.

However, perestroyka, together with a wrongly understood theory of conversion, almost made the plant lose its aviation specialization. Strange as it may seem, this giant plant was saved by the "Aviatika" light biplane, which is being assembled in the same premises as the awesome MiG-29. [passage omitted]

It has to be admitted that the Russian Government has not ordered a single aircraft yet. However, it seems that abroad demand for our aircraft equipment is growing. Although this path has its problems too.

WIG Project Suffers Lack of Funds

PM0401164594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 94 First Edition p 2

[Anatoliy Yershov report: "Combat Wing-in-Ground Effect Vehicle Will Come to the Rescue"]

[Text] Nizhniy Novgorod's "Volga" plant is developing the "Spasatel" ["Rescue Worker"] wing-in-ground effect vehicle [WIG]—a top secret project six months ago.

The Central Hydrofoil Design Bureau here in the past developed the designs on which the Russian high-speed river and maritime fleet was based—the famous Raketas, Meteors, Voskhods, and Kolkhidas. R. Alekseyev, chief hydrofoil designer, for whom this central design bureau is now named, was a pioneer of this work. Only comparatively recently did it become known that a fundamentally new type of hydrofoil was created under his direction back in the sixties—the wing-in-ground effect vehicle.

Whereas hydrofoils can develop speeds of up to 120 kph [kilometers per hour], a WIG craft has almost the speed of an aircraft—up to 600 kph. In moving over the surface this vessel seems to break free from the water and hover above the surface. A huge advantage is that it is not necessary to build expensive take-off and landing strips for WIG craft; they can be based on water and on shore alike. The WIG craft can move over ice or a snowy surface and surmount any barriers.

The WIG craft, if it is successfully introduced, promises a real "transport breakthrough." According to specialists' assessments, the WIG craft belongs to the class of 21st century flying machines, and in this field we are at least 20-25 years ahead of many countries.

"Yes, we are the pioneers in the creation of WIG craft, but in recent times we have increasingly become aware of Western rivals 'breathing down our necks,'" Doctor of Technical Sciences A. Maskalik says. "If urgent measures are not taken, we could lose the advantage altogether. We have already designed and successfully tested WIG craft weighing up to 500 tonnes which can easily take off from, and land on, waves up to three meters high."

At the "Volga" plant a huge craft with towering, gleaming, duralumin sides stands on the building slipway. It is 77 meters long, with a wingspan of 42 meters; the largest dimensions of the fuselage are equal to those of a six-story block. This craft was ordered by the military and is more than 80 percent ready. But work has been mothballed for almost two years. There was serious talk about whether to ax the craft altogether....

In three decades the Nizhniy Novgorod plant has been allocated funds for the entire "WIG program" which would suffice for only half the cost of a single Il-76 aircraft. In his time R. Alekseyev managed to bring together many talented young specialists, made it possible to create the first studies for the new flying machines to the highest standard. In recent years, because of a lack of funding, many of those who pioneered this work have been forced to leave the collective. Almost 150 designers and project workers now work in the "Tekhnologiya i transport" joint-stock company, developing marine WIG craft of various capacities to meet an order from a foreign firm. Some $2 million has been poured into this project, and the first test models should be manufactured and tested next year. The Nizhniy Novgorod

Aviation Plant is involved in the creation of small WIG patrol craft [ekranoplany-katery]....

Maybe this is for the best—the Central Hydrofoil Design Bureau will have competitors, which promises the speediest assimilation of the new flying technology. On the other hand, the efforts of the specialists have been dissipated, and the very rich scientific potential has been diluted. But one thing is indisputable—we must not lose our edge in WIG building. At the same time, many firms in the United States, France, Germany, and Japan are ready to join in the development of new WIG craft with payloads of 1,500 tonnes. Talks on such cooperation are under way.

I climbed together with V. Kirillov, the project's chief designer, onto the building slipway of the half-built "Spasatel," which occupied almost the whole of a workshop several football fields in length. The "Spasatel" weighs 390 tonnes; it has a speed of up to 550 kph and a range of 3,000-4,000 km; the craft can carry up to 500 people. As my companion remarked, the "Spasatel" has the dimensions of the well-known "Ruslan" and "Mriya" aircraft. A hospital with an operating theater and a resuscitation ward are envisaged here, and also a special treatment post for providing aid to people injured as a result of accidents in nuclear power installations or in chemical strikes. The crew is equipped with inflatable boats, ladders, and other rescue apparatus for operations in conditions of strong sea gales.

All the same, the new WIG craft for peaceful purposes does not yet have as rosy a future as one would like. The point is that, effectively, these flying machines could be used in the form of combined units consisting of three craft. The total requirement for them in the initial period is at least 15 or so vessels, but this already means profitable series production. But at the moment the "Volga" plant complains of a shortage of funds, which the Ministry of Defense is dishing out in overly small portions. Meanwhile Russia's first "Spasatel," which is awaited on the seas, is scheduled to leave the slipway this year.

Ministry's Poverty Jeopardizes Military Production

PM0501100194 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2100 GMT 28 Dec 93

[By Mikhail Zotov and Valeriy Rekuta from Moscow Radio Technical Plant; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Zotov] This half-empty hall once housed a unit for the installation of electronics in missiles. Now Grundig color television sets are being assembled here in a remote corner. And although the Moscow Radio Technical Plant still does not have a signboard, this once-secret military facility is not secret any more.

In the kingdom of defense agencies everything is topsy-turvy nowadays. More than 70 percent of the plant's output consists of civilian goods and only 30 percent is military output. The military output includes the renowned electronics for the super-modern air defense missile complexes which are superior to Western counterparts.

Incidentally, the plant, which is now a leasehold enterprise, could end the production of all military output without any financial or legal liability even if this were to the detriment of the country's defense capability. After all, there is still no law on state orders. There are other reasons, too. So, for example the plant received nothing from the sale to China of several air defense systems apart from down-filled jackets and some bedding which the workers immediately dubbed "foot cloths."

[M. Milovanov, Moscow Radio Technical Plant general director, identified by caption] We want to survive and we are doing our utmost to ensure that we do. The plant management is constantly in an impossible situation as a result of Defense Ministry defaulting on payments; 1993 is drawing to a close and we are still owed 7.352 billion rubles [R]. We in turn owe our suppliers R1.5 billion.

[Zotov] The work force of this plant, which posseses unique military technologies, is barely managing to get by thanks to the production of own "Yunost" color television sets and the assembly of German TV sets. It could be that they will usher in the next New Year minus missile complexes, but in down-filled jackets and with Grundig television sets. [Video shows interior, exterior of plant, TV set assembly, missile complexes being assembled and tested, interview with director, more footage of production facilities.]

Military Lobbyist Views Military Production

AU0501111494 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 30 Dec 93 p 2

[Interview with Mikhail Maley, chairman of the National Security Council's Inter-Ministerial Committee dealing with military industry, by Laszlo Vida; place and date not given: "Only the Military Industrial Complex Can Ensure the Continuation of the Reforms, Mikhail Maley, a Chief Lobbyist of the 'Oboronka' Says"]

[Text] The further neglect of the needs of the military industrial complex is dangerous for President Yeltsin's power and for the whole, still mainly state-owned, economy, Mikhail Maley, a chief lobbyist of the defense establishment, the oft-mentioned "oboronka," said in his interview to MAGYAR NEMZET. Maley is also the chairman of the National Security Council's Inter-Ministerial Committee dealing with military industry, which operates beside the Russian president.

[Vida] Not long before the September crisis, you resigned your position as presidential adviser and expressed your dissatisfaction with the current economic policy in a sharp interview in the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Are you still so pessimistic about the future of Russian military industry?

[Maley] The economic situation has not improved but the situation is much better from a structural point of view. The president has acquired full powers. The existence of the National Security Council has also been included in the Constitution, which is particularly important in the coming transitional period, when coalition debates make the government's work more difficult, because its 10 committees can in theory deal with any issues and substitute for any ministries. All this gives us great hope. At the same time, the results of the elections carry the danger that the political struggle will again draw Yeltsin away from the economy's burning problems. Necessary decisions are being delayed while time is running out before our eyes. Within three to five months at the latest, we have to begin massive changes in the economy....

[Vida] Do you want a change of course?

[Maley] I would not be with the president if I did not agree with the reform policy. What is more, 80 percent of the military industrial complex's directors would not agree to any kind of regress. We do not want to and cannot return to what was here before. All we want from Yeltsin is that he should make the reforms quicker and more thought-out so that we can at last begin to establish a new economy on the ruins of 1992 and 1993. Therefore, we are supporting him as we did in October, but we are also trying to convince him of our views.

[Vida] It is interesting what you are saying because one of the basic tenets of Gaydar's reform ideology is that the military industrial complex as a social phenomenon is a conservative and reactionary factor.

[Maley] It is possible that, because of its outward characteristics, the oboronka appears to be a conservative force, but scientific life is concentrated here just as it is anywhere else in the world. The denouncement of military industry was a methodical mistake on Gaydar's part. Instead of using it as a motor for the reforms, he set himself the task of destroying it. No government will be able to do this. This industry has found the suitable counteraction because the line of enterprises with the chain of loans actually began with us. The strategically accumulated stocks of raw material in military industry, which was compulsory in the past, made it possible for production to continue. At the moment, the most important thing is that the president, who had been made to believe that the "oboronka" was an antagonistic environment, has understood that the Gaydar approach is wrong. However, we had to wait 18 months for this, the fight against the military industry lasted as long as that.

[Vida] How can the political situation that has emerged after the elections influence the prospects of the military industry?

[Maley] All in all, the defense establishment came out victorious from the political shocks of the past few months. First of all, this is because we support Yeltsin and he is beginning to understand that we are the only means left for continuing the reforms. Secondly, the serious defeat of the Gaydar bloc, Russia's Choice, actually means the defeat of the enemies of military industry, and this will probably be a warning for those who still have not realized what kind of force they are facing. Finally, as the military industry is an island of calm and social peace, all political forces will try to win us over. In order to gain as precise as possible information on the interests of the military industrial complex, we will soon establish an electronic information system including all 2,200 enterprises, with the help of which we can ask the views of the directors and trade union leaders of all of these enterprises on important issues within a few hours.

We would as soon as possible like to launch the experiment of economic reform that will affect the Udmurtia, Mari, and Chuvashia Republics, and Nizhniy Novgorod and Moscow counties, namely the areas where the military industry is concentrated. We will maximally decentralize the control of the economy and make this industry export-oriented. According to our plans, 70 percent of the foreign currency income would go to the regions and only the remaining amount would have to be given to the federal budget. We will request bids for the military programs and the winner will be the supplier of the Army while the losers will be able to go to the international markets with their own solutions.

[Vida] What changes do you consider necessary in Russian foreign politics to establish favorable conditions for the Russian military industry on foreign markets?

[Maley] First of all, we need pragmatism. We will restore the state monopoly of weapons exports. The president himself will approve the one-year and five-year export plans. We will market our latest military equipment: We would always like to sell one dollar cheaper and one technical unit better products than our competitors. If you observe the activities of Kozyrev, you will see that he reached pragmatism from an absolutely pacifist position, he realized that the markets that we are leaving are immediately taken up by his closest friends over the ocean, without the slightest sign of a guilty conscience. Even under the current circumstances, when we have lost many of our traditional partners, we consider it possible to get some $10 to 12 billion a year from weapons exports by 1995.

[Vida] To what extent is Russia able to work together with Ukraine and the other successor states in military production?

[Maley] In this area, our relations continue to be excellent. Russia is the only one of the Soviet Union's successor states that, as a last resort, could be fully self-sufficient, the others cannot even cover 30 percent of their military needs on their own. Therefore, integration is unavoidable, providing our neighbors understand the realities. What if they do not? We have already taught a lesson with energy resources, which mainly made Ukraine suffer, and we can provide another lesson. Weapons are even more expensive than oil or gas.

Baykonur To Launch Soyuz Rocket Complex 8 Jan

LD0401221494 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] According to a report by the press center of the Russian military space forces, on 8 January a Soyuz TM-18 rocket complex will be launched from the Baykonur cosmodrome. The crew consists of the commander, Colonel Viktor Afanasyev, the on-board engineer, Yuriy Usachev, and Doctor (Valeriy Polyakov). The program of the flight has been arranged in such a way that Viktor Afanasyev and Yuriy Usachev will spend 179 days in orbit, and Doctor (Valeriy Polyakov) is to spend 429 days in orbit—no one has spent that long of time in space before.

Nation Launches 59 Different Space Vehicles in 1993

LD0501102194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0826 GMT 5 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS string correspondent Semyon Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, January 5 (TASS)—Forty eight carrier rockets blasted off the launching pads of Baykonur (Kazakhstan) and Plesetsk (Russia) during 1993. The rockets launched 59 different space apparatuses into orbit. The share of Plesetsk northern "space harbour"—amounted to 26 carrier rockets and 36 space apparatuses.

A two-thirds of the space apparatus launchings were carried out for the Russian Defence Ministry, and the rest were for other ministries and departments. The most often used rockets were the R-7a—three-stage "Soyuz" carrier rockets (18 launchings) and the "Molnia" four-stage—(8). Sixty-five per cent of all space apparatuses were put into orbit during the first half of 1993. The second quarter of 1993 turned out to be the busiest period, with 24 Russian satellite launchings.

Such a tight launching schedule of launchings became possible only thanks to the hard work put in by the personnel of space military forces of Russia, three of whom, officers Aleksey Metelkin, Andrey Nesytov and Vladimir Dubovik (all from Plesetsk) were decorated with military awards on orders of the president of the Russian Federation for displaying courage in conditions which endangered their lives.

But the number of launches in 1993 was less than that carried out in 1992, when 55 carrier rockets put 75 space apparatuses into orbit. This was, firstly, due to the introduction of a new generation of space systems with long-term functioning periods in space. For example, the global navigational satellite system was inducted in 1993. Secondly, due to inadequate state financing, 1993 was the first year not a single carrier rocket complex for scientific purposes was launched.

Besides this, the "Proton" carrier rocket disaster of May 27, 1993 delayed carrier rocket launchings for four months. As a result, only three "Proton" launchings could take place by the end of 1993.

Nevertheless, the new year promises to be sufficiently busy. This year's programme will begin with the launching of the "Soyuz TM-18" manned space ship which is scheduled to be put into orbit on January 8.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Sends Telegram to Chuvashia President

LD0501120494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0653 GMT 5 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentina Ivanova]

[Text] Cheboksary, 5 Jan—Boris Yeltsin greeted Nikolay Fedorov on his election as Chuvashia's first president.

"I am confident that you will proceed further with economic reforms for the sake of making the life of the Chuvash people dignified and that you will facilitate the strengthening of Russia's constitutional foundations. I look forward to carrying out constructive work together," emphasized the Russian Federation president in his telegram.

Today SOVETSKAYA CHUVASHIA published the presidential greetings as the first message on a whole page of similar greetings which continue to arrive for the 35 year old former Russian Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov, who was elected to Chuvashia's highest state post on New Year's eve.

Dagestan 'Democratic Forces' Consider Election Boycott

LD0401171594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The democratic forces of Dagestan may boycott the forthcoming parliamentary elections if the republic's leaders decide to form the parliament's upper chamber out of the local administrators, the headquarters of the Congress of Dagestan's Democratic Forces told Interfax. "Such a decision will be perceived as one more attempt to dupe the people and save the authority of the former party bureaucrats," the same source stated.

A political statement reflecting this belief is expected to be adopted during the Congress's meeting on Wednesday. This document will also contain a request for holding parliamentary election in April or May, 1994, not on June 12. In addition, the Congress is to discuss the possibility of holding a conference of democratic forces for working out a common election platform and forming an election bloc. Such a decision was motivated by the results of the elections on December 12, when the communists received 53.7

of the votes.

The Congress's headquarters also told Interfax that terrorism might be stepped up against the democratic deputies on the eve of the elections.

The number of assassinations is the greatest in Dagestan. Over the past three years, 57 people have been killed for political reasons.

Chechnya Plans 'Neighborhood Watch' Teams To Maintain Order

LD0401150994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1137 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Chechen leaders are planning to organize neighborhood watch teams and mobile militia groups to maintain order around the clock. According to Interfax sources, such posts will be set up along Groznyy's perimeter and on the approaches to the city.

This question was discussed during talks between President Dzhokhar Dudayev and representatives of law-enforcement bodies. The talks also resulted in the decision to establish headquarters for coordinating the newly set-up detachments. The headquarters' work will be controlled by the president, who is also chairman of the Chechen Security Council.

Party Offers To Mediate Between Central Government, Chechnya

LD0401145894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1137 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The Economic Freedom Party has expressed readiness to mediate in organizing talks between Russia and Chechnya. According to Interfax sources, the party's message to Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev points to the necessity "to resume the dialogue and restore the ruptured links."

Without mutual understanding with Chechnya, there will be neither peace nor tranquility in the south of Russia. Neither can the future of the Chechen people be based on constant confrontation with Russia or on isolation from the world community, says the message.

Further on Cancellation of Congress of Chechen Clans

LD0401171394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The congress of Chechen clans does not plan a coup, calling instead for democratic elections and better living standards, Sherip Khalidov, who is Mayor of Shali, a town 20 km from the capital Groznyy, told INTERFAX on Tuesday.

The Chechen government on Sunday [2 Janaury] banned delegates of the local clans to hold a congress in Shali designed to announce general elections in the republic. Its organizers told INTERFAX the forum was annulled in order to avoid violence. The council of local clans and ethnic groups says it will announce the timing of a new forum within hours before it opens.

Khalidov warned against attempts to try to accuse President Dzhokhar Dudayev of dictatorial habits and seeking to bring an end to democratic reforms. He blamed politicians in the President's entourage for playing on some traits of Dudayev's character and occasionally offering ill advice.

Officials in Groznyy say the congress is illegal because the council of local clans was not officially registered. Parliamentary Chairman Akhyad Idigov, in an interview with INTERFAX, described the forum as a step back and an attempt to try to split the Chechens.

In the meantime, moderate opposition leaders in the recalcitrant Nadterechny region, which refused to be ruled by Groznyy in June 1992, have described as unproductive attempts to try to call a forum of Chechen clans. It would be much better to rally effort in creating a healthy opposition to the dictatorial regime in Groznyy instead, they told INTERFAX.

International Affairs

Kravchuk 'Likely' To Attend Russian-U.S. Summit 14 Jan

LD0401135294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1137 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk is likely to arrive in Moscow on January 14 to meet with U.S. President Bill Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

According to a well-informed source, Bill Clinton had invited Leonid Kravchuk to attend the Russian-American summit.

On January 3, tripartite talks began in Washington between U.S., Russian, and Ukrainian delegations. The talks will continue until January 8. The participants are discussing details of an agreement specifying the main aspects of nuclear disarmament, which is likely to be signed on January 14.

In an interview with Interfax, Ukrainian Vice Premier Valeriy Shmarov, who is in charge of the military-industrial complex, expressed hope that "during the talks with the U.S. and Russia we shall pass over to initialing specific documents," above all the agreement to be signed by the three presidents.

He pointed out that this document would enumerate guarantees given to Ukraine and specify which material, technical, and economic assistance Ukraine will be provided with during nuclear disarmament.

Kravchuk-Clinton Meeting Uncertain

LD0401164294 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1459 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers has announced that the U.S. President will begin his "European" tour on 9 January. Bill Clinton will take part in a conference of NATO member countries' heads of state and government and from 11 to 12 January will visit Prague where he will hold negotiations with Polish, Hungarian, Slovak, and Czech leaders. At Boris Yeltsin's invitation, the American President will make a three-day official visit to Moscow to "consolidate the democratic partnership between the United States and Russia," it officially reported. To conclude his tour, Clinton will visit Minsk.

Ukraine will not be visited by the head of the White House. However, INTERFAX reported on 3 January that a visit by L. Kravchuk to Moscow for trilateral negotiations has not been ruled out and that the Ukrainian president has been invited to do so in a recent letter from Clinton. The president's international service has informed a UNIAN correspondent that Nursultan Nazarbayev will make an official visit to Ukraine during Clinton's stay in Moscow. As for the letter, there is, indeed, an invitation in it to a trilateral meeting, but in Washington rather than in Moscow. It is not certain, THE WASHINGTON POST on 3 January quoted a high-ranking representative of the administration as saying, that the American and Ukrainian presidents will meet in Moscow; experts think that this will depend on the results of the U.S.-Ukrainian nuclear talks with the participation of the Russian side, which started in Washington on 3 January. Ukraine is represented there by Vice Premier V. Shmarov and Deputy Foreign Minister B. Tarasyuk.

Viktor Stelmakh, press secretary to the Ukrainian president, informed a UNIAN correspondent on 4 January that he could neither confirm nor deny reports of a forthcoming meeting between Kravchuk and Clinton in Moscow, since "there has been no final decision yet."

Official on Talks With U.S.

LD0401212894 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] According to reports by the mass media abroad, U.S.-Russian talks are now being held in Washington (?pending) the meeting of the Presidents of the United States and the Russian Federation in Moscow. Is it a fact that, as asserted by these mass media, a Ukrainian delegation is also taking part in the talks in Washington? Will Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk participate in the Moscow summit?

Our correspondent asked the chief of the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry's Information Directorate, Yuriy Serheyev, to comment on these reports.

[Begin Serheyev recording] A delegation of Ukraine, led by Mr. Shmarov, is indeed in Washington, where the topics of consultations are the same old topics, i.e. the questions of balancing our mutual relations with the United States and having them concentrate on the sphere of the economy, rather than just on military and political negotiations and military and political cooperation—this is a topic known to you and is also one of the principal aims of our delegations and the task that it is faced with, and of course continuing the consultations, that have been in progress for a long time and were stepped up in December, precisely on nuclear arms elimination issues [sentence as heard]. So this topic is well-known, the consultations are going on, and so far we cannot add anything new. The delegation will return and perhaps something new will be added which might be described as a working version which could then be tabled before higher-level delegations.

As for the report that you quote as saying that a meeting in Moscow is possible, circulated by INTERFAX and some other agencies, there is indeed a certain mutual relationship between facts, events, and necessity. When presidents or high-ranking statesmen meet to talk, they have to have documents tabled before them to be looked at and signed by them. Up till now, we have only said that consultations and negotiations to work out possible documents are under way. I do not know what is the

source of information about the possibility of such a meeting. What I do know is that a document has to be prepared to be considered at any meeting between presidents and any meeting between prime ministers. So it may yet be premature to talk about such documents having already been made ready now for the dates cited by INTERFAX, which are 14-15 January. At least, our delegation has to return from the United States, possibly for Mr. Shmarov and possibly for the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the president's administration to be asked that question. Perhaps this would provide a more logical situation for comment on a future meeting.

What everything rests on is that nobody has sought and worked for a meeting for the sake of a meeting although, you know, much speculation has been made on this: In the past, whether Kuchma would or would not be allowed in the United States, and now, whether there would or would not be a meeting with the President of the United States. All this, as it were, is emotional. The main thing and the main topic, however, and the main answer will be where common interests and common, compromise decisions will be found. Then, perhaps, what you intended to say in your question will be implemented. Perhaps, this is how it is.

That is why, I am not in possession of any information that I can provide you with, for me unequivocally either to confirm or deny the possibility of such a meeting. However, what I can do is to comment on this in this way, since the consultations and talks are still in progress. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Official on UN Session Achievements

LD0401172094 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1536 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, 4 Jan—The participation of the delegation of Ukraine in the work of the 48th session of the UN General Assembly was one of the main issues covered at a regular briefing in the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry. Viktor Batyuk, Ukraine's permanent representative to the United Nations, informed those present that Ukrainian representatives have explained Ukraine's stance on nuclear disarmament issues, economic reforms, and accession to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Work on drawing up an international convention on the status and safety of UN personnel, which was started at Ukraine's initiative, has contributed to Ukraine's growing prestige at the United Nations. One of the major results of the delegation's work was that a decision was taken by the session to revise in 1994 the system of payments made by Ukraine in respect of peacekeeping operations, with the repayment of its debts being postponed, and to make changes in the methodology of the construction of the scale of contributions to the UN regular budget. Changing the methodology may result in considerably reducing the size of Ukraine's contribution in the years 1995-97.

Nina Kovalska, a department chief, spoke about the course of the discussion at the 48th UN session on issues of the protection of human rights, social development, and humanitarian cooperation, held within the framework of the Vienna declaration and the action program adopted at the second world conference on human rights in June 1993. Following lengthy talks, in particular, the resolution on helping refugees and displaced persons in Azerbaijan was adopted. Ukraine was a co-sponsor of the resolution. The Ukrainian delegation spoke in favor of the Security Council expanding and of adapting its structure and activity to the requirements of modern international life. The discussion resulted in adopting a resolution on forming a special working group which would aim to process proposals from every interested state.

Envoy to UN on U.S., Russian Nuclear Stance

LD0401212994 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Viktor Batyuk, our state's permanent representative at the United Nations, took part in a briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today. He noted in particular that Ukraine's delegation has done great work explaining Ukraine's foreign policy. Unfortunately, however, it is nevertheless impossible to surpass the activity of one delegation and the furious pressure on the part of the mass media and government structures of the United States and Russia, which are distorting our stance regarding nuclear weapons, said Viktor Batyuk.

Less UN Attention to Ukraine

LD0401182494 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1459 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev—At a briefing for journalists in the Foreign Ministry on 4 January, Viktor Batyuk, the permanent representative of Ukraine to the United Nations, summed up the results of the work of the Ukrainian delegation at the 48th Session of the UN General Assembly. He emphasized that since the radical change in Ukraine's political tack in respect of nuclear weapons and the Black Sea Fleet at the meeting between the Ukrainian and Russian presidents in Massandra on 3 September, "less attention has been paid" to Ukraine at the United Nations. Viktor Batyuk characterized mutual relations with Russia as "a pendulum situation" and stressed that the Russian mass media "are defaming Ukraine."

The Ukraine representative said that members of the Ukrainian delegation made over 50 speeches in the course of the session, Ukraine co-sponsored 39 resolutions and was re-elected for three years as a member of the Committee for Program and Coordination. In Viktor Batyuk's words, Ukraine spoke against allowing any country's claim to be granted peace-making powers in any given region and demanded that peace-making actions should be carried out in accordance with the CSCE Charter and the major UN documents.

Viktor Batyuk confirmed that he has been appointed Ukraine's ambassador to Canada and that he will leave for Ottawa at the end of this week.

Government Holds Talks With Azerbaijani Delegation

AU0501112794 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Negotiations Between Ukraine and Azerbaijan"]

[Text] On the eve of the New Year, governmental delegations of Ukraine and Azerbaijan held negotiations in Kiev. They discussed an extensive circle of problems concerning the development and intensification of the interaction between the two countries in the economic, financial, and other spheres.

An agreement was signed on trade and economic cooperation for 1994 and an accord was reached on holding negotiations at the level of presidents and parliamentarians at the beginning of 1994 for the purpose of further development of interstate relations.

The Ukrainian delegation was headed by Vice Prime Minister V. Shmarov and the Azerbaijani one by L. Abbasov, first deputy prime minister.

Deputy Foreign Minister Makarenko Visits Athens

LD0401221994 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Ukraine Deputy Foreign Minister Makarenko paid a working visit to Athens from 1 to 3 January. The sides examined the issue of final elaboration of agreements in the sphere of economic cooperation and sea communications and exchanged opinions on topical political issues. On the whole the Greek side showed understanding of Ukraine's stance on many problems of international life, displayed a positive attitude to Ukraine's desire to enter European structures, and expressed readiness for the development of all-round mutually advantageous relations.

National Affairs

Ministry Thwarts Attempt To Smuggle Radioactive Materials

PM0501095994 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 93

[By Yuriy Selivanov and Boris Zamchinskiy; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] An operation to thwart the smuggling out of a large batch of radioactive materials which, according to the investigative bodies, could be used to produce nuclear weapons, has been carried out by subunits of the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs together with Interpol.

[Selivanov] A criminal gang specializing in the export of enriched uranium produced at CIS countries' nuclear industry facilities was detained during the operation. A total of 240 capsules containing 1.5 kg of radioactive material were confiscated.

Of late law-enforcement bodies are increasingly coming up against criminal activities with a clearly pronounced nuclear bias. The impression is that the protection of enterprises producing nuclear components leaves much to be desired.

Lowering of the nuclear safety standards is fraught with the most serious consequences in our time. The attempt to smuggle out radioactive material which was foiled in Odessa is another reminder of the urgent need to adopt prompt interstate measures in this area.

Premier on Achieving Lower Prices for Oil, Gas

LD0401182594 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Accords reached with Russia and Turkmenistan regarding oil and gas deliveries to Ukraine at prices considerably lower than they were in December 1993 make it certain that we will be able to make sure of stable work within industry. Yukhym Zvyahilskyy, acting prime minister of Ukraine, stated this in an interview with the press. He noted that the government is taking under its control the prices of oil products, and at what price they will be sold both to state and private firms.

Cabinet Meeting Discusses Stabilizing Industrial Branches

LD0401213394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2042 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Valentin Vernodubenko for TASS]

[Text] Kiev January 4 TASS—A Ukrainian Government meeting chaired by Acting Prime Minister Yefim Zvyagilskiy discussed today the stabilization of basic industrial branches. The meeting was attended by government members and heads of ministries and departments of the mining and coke-chemical industries, metallurgy, power engineering and transport.

"The discussion was suggested by a recent meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers that dwelt on prices on energy carriers, primarily coal," Ukrainian Vice-Premier Vasiliy Yevtukhov told UKRINFORM.

"We have raised coal prices, which resulted in the increase of prices on sausage, milk and bread. It is clear as soon as coal prices are raised, coke prices immediately go up, which is followed by price increase on machine-building and agricultural products.

"Some meeting speakers noted we can raise fuel prices and keep those in metallurgy and power engineering on the same level. It is impossible since the production costs in these branches include coal spending. The meeting aimed to reach a parity of prices in the coal industry, metallurgy and power engineering and achieve mutual understanding without which it is impossible to overcome the economic crisis," he added.

Supreme Council Commissions Discuss Various Issues

LD0401161294 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1218 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, 4 Jan—The Supreme Council is working in standing commissions. Deputies are working on draft laws that are planned to be examined at the Supreme Council's next session.

In particular, members of the Commission for Issues of the Activity of Councils and the Development of Local Self Government are examining the law on the status of local council deputies, adopted in its first reading. They analyzed and generalized proposals and remarks that had been received, and which concern local councils of local regional self government. On 18-19 January, members of the commission will take part in the all Ukrainian conference of representatives of local councils.

The Commission for Issues of Defense and State Security will submit six draft legislative acts for consideration by parliament at its ninth session. Among them are the draft law on introducing changes and additions on military issues to Ukraine's Constitution. The second reading of the law on state secrets will be proposed for the Supreme Council's consideration at its session. Members of the commission also analyzed the draft laws on the military militia, military disciplinary units, and on introducing changes and additions to legislative acts on customs issues.

The Commission for Issues of Construction, Architecture and Housing, and Utilities examined the economic situation in Ukraine's building sector. Members of the commission discussed the government's proposals on changes and additions to the law on financing road utilities that are broadening the rights of local power bodies to determine the amount of allocations for road works. The government proposed that the law should envisage benefits for issues of financing road management for agricultural enterprises and peasant private farms. The commission is working on the draft law on the basics of state housing policy.

The Commission for Issues of Social Policy and Labor analyzed variants of the draft of the basic legislation on citizens' social insurance.

Plyusch, Zvyagilskiy Nominated for Future Parliament

LD0401201594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1831 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Ukrainian Speaker Ivan Plyusch and acting Prime Minister Yefim Zvyagilskiy have been nominated for deputies of the future Ukrainian parliament.

Plyusch was registered as a candidate from constituency No.455 situated in the Chernigov region. The Central Election Commission told "Interfax-Ukraine" that the speaker was nominated by the workers of a food plant of the town of Borznyany.

Workers of the Zasyadko mine in the Donetsk nominated acting Prime Minister Yefim Zvyagilskiy as their deputy. Prior to his appointment mayor of Donetsk and then government member, he worked as the director of the mine.

According to the election law, parties and working groups are entitled to nominate their candidates to people's deputies. The contenders must canvass more than 300 votes of the electors residing in this constituency to be registered as a candidate for people's deputy.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine will be held on March 27 1994.

State Property Management Powers Delegated to Oblasts

WA0401224694

[Editorial Report] Donetsk Television Network in Russian at 1630 GMT on 9 December carries its regular "Novosti Donetchiny" program which contains an announcement about delegation of powers for management of state property to four oblast administrations starting 1 January 1994.

The anchorwoman says that Presidential Representative Yu. Smirnov has signed an instruction to organize the implementation of President Kravchuk's decree of 26 November on delegation of powers to Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporozhye and Lugansk Oblast Administrations for management of state property. As was explained to executive committees, city Soviets of People's Deputies, district state administrations and oblast directorates and departments, this measure is aimed at the stabilization of the economy, introduction of market relations, further development of these regions and enhancement of efficiency of management of state property. During the period from January 1, 1994 to December 31, 1995, as an experiment, Donetsk State Administration will perform the functions of management of property of state enterprises, institutions and organizations.

Former Lvov Missile Base Sold to Private Firm

LD0401194694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1459 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Lvov—At a conference of the "Lvivprylad" production association on 3 January, Vasyl Dzera, chairman of the Frankivskyy rayon executive committee and a member of the oblast council commission for checking on foreign trade activity of the oblast state administration, asserted that the oblast authorities has sold a missile base near Brody to the private firm "Konza" for $13,000.

Apart from a missile silo the former nuclear base includes working independent thermal and power resources, purification structures, and independent power supply systems. According to Vasyl Dzera, the procurator general's office of Ukraine has instituted criminal proceedings regarding the sale of a former military facility by the oblast state administration to "Konza."

Socialists Discuss Electoral Platform, Warn of Unrest

WS0401163194 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 28 Dec 93 p 4

[Report by V. Pronin, member of the Political Council of the Ukrainian Socialist Party: "The Congress of Socialists"]

[Text] The third congress of the Ukrainian Socialist Party [SPU] has taken place. The 494 delegates that represented the 31,000-strong party force and 120,000 of its sympathizer from all Ukrainian oblasts and the Crimea listened to a report about activities of the SPU Political Council (by O. Bozhko) and a report of the revision commission (by O. Mishchenko). Central to the congress was the report "On the Party's Electoral Platform and Its Objectives" delivered by O. Moroz, head of the SPU Political Council. N. Vitrenko and O. Yushchyk presented reports on the platform ideology.

All those who presented reports as well as deputies who took the floor later rejected Rukh's propagandist suggestion, dutifully publicized by the mass media, holding communists who supposedly remain in power personally responsible for the catastrophic situation in Ukraine. Former CPSU activists crowding the leadership of all anti-communist parties—Rukh among them—proved plain renegades. By approving the Rukh-made program of building capitalism in Ukraine through privatization and liberalization and allying themselves with nationalistic patriots and criminal bourgeoise, which made fabulous fortunes on this, reduced Ukraine to its present condition.

They have no right to retain power and should surrender it to representatives of workers that were most affected by the unheard-of looting of Ukraine.

The delegates to the congress spoke for the reinstatement of soviets and the liquidation of presidential structures, and demanded that the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets be called as soon as possible, that people's and workers' control be restored, and that a transition constitutional law be adopted instead of the proposed draft constitution.

Major emphasis was placed on the party's tactics and strategy on the eve of legislative elections. The congress reconfirmed that the SPU will approach the elections as an independent political force with its own program and candidates, which does not rule out the possibility of cooperation with like-minded public organizations of a social orientation. A declaration on this kind of cooperation was signed at the congress by representatives of the SPU, the Ukrainian Communist Party [KPU], and the Ukrainian Peasants' Party.

The congress approved the party's electoral campaign—it will be published in the nearest issue of the TOVARYSH [Comrade] paper— and adopted a resolution on the report by the Political Council and the Revision Commission. The decision by the SPU and other leftists parties to participate in the upcoming elections provides an opportunity to get out of the crisis by peaceful and legal means. The party's electoral slogan will be: "For Social Justice, Power of the People, Lawfulness, and People's Safety."

In an appeal to the Ukrainian people, the congress called on electors not to make the mistakes from the previous elections, when they allowed antisocial and antipeople forces sneak into the Supreme Council, which vastly used funds from their foreign sponsors. We have no right to make the same mistake. The SPU appeals for all electors to go to the voting stations. A low turnout would abet further pillaging of Ukraine.

The congress warned that an antipopular course of the Ukrainian leadership raises protests of workers that might turn into a social explosion. Coal miners, shipbuilders, defense industry workers, etc. are standing up to defend their interests. The SPU has repeatedly warned that the current course leads to catastrophe. Before it is too late, the SPU calls on the authorities to meet all demands of striking committees, including those urging resignation of the president and the government, and altering the course of reforms to the advantage of the majority of the people.

The congress elected O. Moroz chairman of the Political Council and O. Mishchenko head of the Revision Commission.

After the congress ended, the Political Council held a meeting where O. Bozhko, I. Musiyenko, and V. Romashchenko were elected its deputy chairmen, and the 15-strong Council's Presidium was established.

The congress was attended by P. Symonenko, first secretary of the KPU Central Committee; M. Brokiavicius, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; B. Bondarchuk, co-chairman of the Socialist Party of Russian Workers Central Committee; K. Nikolayev, deputy

chairman of the SKP-CPSU [expansion unknown]; S. Dovhal, leader of the Ukrainian Peasants' Party; representatives of Belarusian Socialists, "Working Ukraine," the Ukrainian Communist Union, the Association of Working Women, "For the Future of Our Children," the Ukrainian Leninist Communist Youth Association, veteran and other organizations as well as V. Hranycharov, member of the Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and Cuban and North Korean ambassadors.

Article Views Popularity of 'Nazi' UNA-UNSO

WS0401163094 Kiev KIEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 28 Dec 93 p 3

[Article by Sergey Rakhmaninov: "The Results of Russian Election May Be Repeated in Our Country"]

[Text] A meeting of supporters of the Ukrainian National Assembly [UNA] and the Ukrainian National Self Defense [UNSO], which was held at the Cinema House, has not become a significant event in Ukraine's political life. Everyone has already become used to gatherings of UNSO members. Nevertheless, compared to other activities of Korchynskyy and company, the meeting was unusual. First of all, the most meritorious participants of the battles in Caucasus received official awards from Georgia. Secondly, the meeting at the Cinema House was held following a two-day congress of Slavic national patriotic organizations, which had been held at the Moscow Hotel at the initiative of UNA and UNSO.

Journalists who arrived on Saturday morning to admire Dmytro Korchynskyy and his followers were met by a cordon of militia officers: Law enforcement authorities had received an anonymous tip that a bomb had been planted in the Cinema House. Although they conducted a thorough search, no bomb was found. There were plenty of versions as to the reasons behind this threat: Somebody insisted that this was a communist provocation; others claimed that UNA members prepared the show to attract more attention to their organization.

Events that took place inside the building, when it was already clear that there was no danger of the grand assembly blowing up, also resembled a well-directed performance. The main goal of the meeting was to confirm the participants of their strength, and to impress those observing the meeting. Should one be scared of UNA and UNSO? Is it true that these two organizations (in fact the political and military subunits of one organization) represent serious power? I do not intend to assess the real importance or threat represented by Shukhevych's and Korchynskyy's organization, however, only a blind man would not notice its growing influence. The words voiced at the meeting may provoke a reflection of how the organization's image was enhanced.

"All other political organizations are losing members. Only we are growing stronger... The policy endorsed by the president and the government leads a manager of commercial bank, a miner, and a UNSO gunner to the same trench, and pretty soon they will be shooting in one direction." Although these two statements by Dmytro Korchynskyy had previously been delivered on two different occasions, their author took the risk of combining them, to demonstrate the principle of propagandist-psychological activities of UNA ideologists. The principle is as simple as mumbling, and it could be brilliantly carried into effect by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the greatest populist of our times: The people should hear what they want to hear. The thesis about "fulfilling the reform movement with real sense" or "the weighed centrist-reform policy" would be met by the people with less understanding than simple postulates of UNSO: For the people—a strong state; for the hungry—a hunk of bread; for the traitor—the gallows. This rings a bell, doesn't it?

The UNA and UNSO slogans, as well as the election promises of Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy], can be heard on bread lines and in smoking rooms. Liberal reasoning and discussions on serious matters are prohibited there—the more straight-forward the statement, the better it is received. An illustrative example of UNSO's logic was presented by one of its members: "Earlier, our country resembled a zone where 'legitimate crooks' were in power, now, it resembles a zone where bitches who violated the crooked law are in power. I do not want to be ruled by bitches, I am not a swine." Could you tell me who would admit being a swine? After such words, Korchynskyy's statement that "only UNA member live properly, the rest do not live at all" does not sound shocking.

The attractiveness of the Ukrainian Nazi lies in the fact that they have chosen those in power as their enemies, which is very appealing to the common man. Here are those guilty of all the misfortunes—a bunch of thugs who are stealing away our state and teaching others how to do the same. It would not be so bad if UNA ideologists only exploited the centuries-old desire of the people to seek "extremes," but unfortunately such "extremes" occur pretty often, demonstrating political inertia and corrupting the people. Therefore, Korchynskyy's words about a miner and a UNSO member in the same trench are not simply bravado.

The guidelines of populist policy also provide for the necessary existence of myth. The inventive boys from UNA have constantly been refreshing the myth of their power and popularity, since the establishment of their organization. According to Korchynskyy, the Agro detachment that fought in Abkhazia is the best organized military unit. Following the same logic, UNA and UNSO are the best organized political forces in our country. The reasoning is very simple: UNA is the only organization which possesses experience in conducting politics in the situation of complete destabilization, meaning Cisdnestr and Abkhazia. According to UNSO theory, the time of talkative politicians has gone, and a time of "commanders with combat experience" is coming, since only such politicians are able to avert complete disaster, during a period when the people's wrath reaches its apogee, and

one must save enemies of the people from that wrath as well as the country from complete ruin and possible occupation.

The myth of an apparently existing external threat is yet another example of UNSO's tricks. To root the myth in people's consciousness, and to simultaneously obtain certain support in case UNSO is banned (the 11 November legislation on illegal paramilitary organizations was predominantly aimed at UNSO), Korchynskyy, Luponis, Kovalenko and their comrades organized the congress at the Moscow Hotel. The idea of a united Slavic territory, which was discussed by national-Slavs from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Poland, can hardly be carried into effect. The discrepancies between, for example, Ukraine's Party of Slavic Unity and the Russian People's Social Party or the Belarusian Slavic Union Belaya Rus, are too significant. Nevertheless, the idea of Slavic unity developed by organizations with ultranationalistic image, will undoubtedly attract more followers. Probably, this was the main goal of the congress.

The only thing that could scare an average citizen, on whom the UNSO Goebbels count, is open fascism. "Today is that rare day when UNSO does not have to storm anything or beat anybody... Of course, we could chase them all into a corner, but we will soon need some scapegoats... The poor German neo-Nazis look toward Ukraine in hope that maybe salvation will come from there. It will surely come..." These words were delivered by one UNSO leader during the congress. They fall in line with the frantic hail of "Death for enemies!" and the stretched-out and raised right arms. Even the uniforms of certain UNSO members resembled those of Schtrasser and Rem [SS officers].

The brown color seen between the red and black colors of UNSO may either attract or scare someone, as once the possibility to play a real war attracted some UNSO members. By the way, the Nazis were not always the most massive and influential force in Germany. In the beginning, their ideas shocked the people's consciousness, but soon all of Germany hailed the swastika. Western historians have been trying to explain the phenomenon of Hitler. Today, Russian politicians are trying to understand the phenomenon of Zhirinovskiy.

Seven people who wanted to play war in Caucasus will never come home. No orders, no assurances that "henceforth our organization will be like one family" will return those sons to their crying mothers and Ukraine, the interests of which, as the UNSO leadership assures, were defended by the gunmen in the Caucasus.

Fuel Reserves Fall to 'Unprecedented Level'

LD0501111694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2020 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Kiev, [no dateline as received]—Vilen Semenyuk, minister of power engineering, stated on 4 January that as of 1 January, reserves of fuel in Ukraine had fallen to an unprecedented level—three million metric tons of coal and 150 metric tons of fuel oil, which in fact is the emergency reserve. Although energy consumption declined by 7.8 percent in 1993 compared with the previous year and even by 12.8 percent in industry, energy consumption by the population increased by 30 percent. In addition, energy enterprises owe suppliers 4.1 trillion karbovantsi. According to information from the State Committee for Atomic Energy, new nuclear fuel was not purchased in the second half of 1993 because of a shortage of funds and spent fuel was not transported to Russia. Available resources should be exhausted in six months time.

Plans of the Ukrainian power engineering sector for 1994 include purchasing 26 billion cubic meters of gas, seven million metric tons of fuel oil and 32 metric metric tons of coal including 20 metric metric tons through direct agreements.

Belarus

Shushkevich, Yeltsin Discuss Possibility of Talks

LD0401160694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1414 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By BELINFORM for TASS]

[Text] Minsk January 4 TASS—Belarussian leader Stanislav Shushkevich and Russian President Boris Yeltsin had a telephone conversation today to discuss a possibility of their working meeting.

According to a preliminary agreement, they will meet in Moscow before January 11, sources close to the Belarussian parliament head told BELINFORM.

Shushkevich Views Current Political Problems

LD0401180494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1623 GMT 4 Jan 94

["Exclusive Interview" with Parliament Speaker Stanislav Shushkevich by INTERFAX journalists in Minsk; date not given: From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrey Pershin, and Andrey Petrovskiy]

[Text] On the eve of 1994 the speaker of the Belarusian Parliament Stanislav Shushkevich visited the Belarusian office of INTERFAX [IF] in Minsk and spoke with journalists. Below is his exclusive interview.

IF: What, do you think, is the main result of 1993?

Shushkevich: I believe it was the materialization of the idea to create the Commonwealth of Independent States, the idea which rules out the difficult option of secession. An example of this is Azerbaijan and Georgia joining the CIS. Now all republics except the Baltics are members of the Commonwealth.

Constantly improving approaches in relationships within the CIS, we, I hope, as early as 1994, will be able to solve painful economic problems which cause enormous difficulties, say, for Belarus. I hope member-states will reach mutual understanding in this respect and policy-makers will put the emphasis on strategy, not on minor tactical comforts or elevating certain political groups in different countries.

I believe that some aspects of economic relations run counter to the ideas and goals of the Commonwealth. Those aspects seem to have been originated by political tensions in some CIS countries. However, the situation is back to normal in most member-states, which brings hope that things will develop for the better.

IF: You mean the relationships between the CIS countries and Russia, don't you? You granted an interview to INTERFAX in which you proposed creating within the CIS a bloc of republics which would work out a common policy towards Russia.

Shushkevich: I am sure we must demonstrate to Russia, the country which has more weight economically and demographically than all the rest member-states together, that we have common difficultiess which we would not like to identify with Russian policies. The course pursued by certain Russian politicians is not necessarily that expected of true statesmen and thus fatal, I believe. Sometimes they make statements towards this or that CIS member which could be described as insulting to all the rest member-countries.

Once we have decided to build a community and want that all its member-countries respect the Russian speakers just as Russians are respected here in Belarus, let's act adequately! Because the protest against the outbursts of some Russian politicians may grow over into an anti-Russian policy. However, I emphasize, none of the CIS republics pursues an anti-Russian policy.

The principles of economic relations, first of all, in terms of Russian energy supplies, are the most important unresolved issue within the CIS framework. OPEC is a kind of community of oil-producing states. Inside the CIS, Russia plays the role of such a community because the republics are virtually unable to buy oil anywhere else. But do the OPEC countries determine different oil prices for its partners, say, France, Germany or Britain? No, they do not. Prices are the same for its own "customers". If there are any differences in prices, they are due to the unsatisfactory political conduct of individual countries.

In view of this I would like to emphasize: I flatly reject any concoctions about my alleged restraint or dislike of Russia. The idea was invented by narrow-minded politicians. Fortunately, these are not leading political figures in Russia. Take all my statements and interviews. You will find in them not a single negative hint towards the country. Those who accuse me of anti-Russian sentiments are guided by petty instincts, not by commonsense.

IF: What do you expect from the new year of 1994?

Shushkevich: The coming year must return to us the feeling of self-dignity. If the Supreme Soviet adopted by a majority of votes a statement, according to which instead of an all-Belarus referendum on trust in parliament and government early elections were promised to be held in March 1994, the pledge must be kept and a solution to this question must be found. But so far we have been in a deadlock, which, instead of being exploited by our best forces is regrettably being taken advantage of by other elements.

If something is overlooked by the constitution and legislation, people resort to action, but God forbid it comes to violence. So, the main thing for me in the new year is to hold new democratic elections.

IF: A presidential election, too?

Shushkevich: I am not against holding it even before parliamentary elections but only on a legitimate basis.

For this reason, parliament should adopt a new election law and schedule new elections as soon as possible.

IF: As is known, signatures are being raised among lawmakers in support of a vote of confidence in the Supreme Soviet's Chairman at the next session of parliament? Are you not afraid of losing the post?

Shushkevich: I have never been afraid of that. Experienced in political struggle and invigorated by recent hospital treatment, I'm fully determined to counter any sinister scheme like that.

IF: Some legislators predict that the issue on your resignation will be raised during parliamentary debates on the ratification of the CIS Charter, one of the major sections of which commits CIS participant-states to collective security ...

Shushkevich: Not long ago, Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich quite tactfully declared in the press that CIS countries did not regard Belarus as a member of the Commonwealth security system. Most signatories disagree with that republic's "special status," conditioned by a number of reservations on which Belarus would accept collective security (for one thing, reservations rule out Belarusian troops' involvement in fighting outside the republic - IF). I've kept on repeating that the collective-security system participants will never admit Belarus on special terms. So, what could happen? If in line with the reservations, endorsed by our parliament, there were an area of trouble in a neighboring country, Belarus would not send a peace-keeping force there. However, if we faced troubles, all CIS countries would, for some reason, be obliged to help us. But that's not collective security but an attempt to profit by the collective security system being formed nearby.

All the hullabaloo on whether I've signed the collective security accord or not has been contrived by "a narrow circle of persons," alleging that I am against collective security at all. Nonsense. I am only against obscurantism in collective in security. I am positively against collective security attempts at others expanse.

I am convinced that a state can be secured by totally new approaches to be based on the principle of neutrality, proclaimed by the Belarusian Parliament as harmless for anyone's interests.

If we want to be part of the CIS collective security system, and that is only for the Supreme Soviet to decide, we should realize that our sons, in such a case, would be up for draft at any volatile spot across the Commonwealth from the Kuril islands to Brest, from Franz Joseph Land to Kushka.

But since Belarus has not been involved in a single conflict in CIS, I do not realize why Belarusian men have to be involved. That's illogical. For this reason, I have always been an advocate of neutrality for Belarus. To fulfil the parliament's will, I signed a collective security treaty with the reservations determined by the national legislature.

(Stanislav Shushkevich signed the original of the CIS Collective Security Treaty on December 31, 1993, "to avoid dubious interpretation" of the form of signing the accord - IF).

IF: Does this mean that Belarus will stay away from peace actions of the UN and other international organizations? Do you plan to respond to the UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali's request to dispatch a battalion of Belarusian troops to back up the international force deployed there to settle the Balkan conflict?

Shushkevich: I've had a discussion on that with Lord Owen and other representatives of Butrus-Ghali. Although the Supreme Soviet realized how essential it was for Belarus to take part in international actions on settling armed conflicts, it felt scared even to debate the issue because of "an acute Afghan syndrome" in the republic. Belarus suffered heavy casualties during the USSR crusade in Afghanistan.

There is yet another reason: The never-ending painful memories of the second world war, which claimed the life of every fourth citizen of the republic. No other CIS country lost so many lives during the war. I told Lord Owen: Give us a respite.

Shushkevich Said To Approve of Joining Security Treaty

WS0401140194 Minsk RID in Russian 1106 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] A RID correspondent has received this sensational information from CIS Executive Secretary Ivan Korotchenya: On New Year's eve Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich officially notified the CIS Executive Secretariat about Belarus joining the CIS collective security treaty, signed at the CIS heads of state conference in Tashkent on 15 May 1992. Thus, Stanislav Shushkevich made a difficult step, because he had categorically opposed joining the treaty. The official notification of the CIS Headquarters was probably prompted by statements made by CIS officials demanding that Belarus precisely determine its standpoint with regard to the collective security issue. With this step Stanislav Shushkevich removed the trump card of his opponents periodically pressing for his resignation from the post of Supreme Soviet chairman.

However, the speaker believes that the Belarusian legislature has a right to introduce amendments in the process of ratification, regulating both the use of the Belarusian Armed Forces on CIS territory and the CIS Armed Forces on the territory of Belarus.

Shushkevich Comments on CIS Developments in 1993

LD0401165794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich believes that confirmation of the idea to create the CIS, thanks to which the "hard" variant of former Soviet republics' division was excluded, was the major outcome of 1993.

In his exclusive interview with INTERFAX he underlined that the joining of new members, Azerbaijan and Georgia, confirms this fact.

Shushkevich hopes that in 1994 politicians will pay major attention to the strategy "but not to tactical conveniences and raising of definite political groups in different countries."

"If we decide to build the Commonwealth and want that the Russian-speaking population be respected in all its states, as it is in Belarus, then let us behave adequately! Any protest against separate moves of several Russian politicians can grow into an anti-Russian policy," declared Shushkevich.

He believes that principles of economic relations and primarily issues related to fuel and energy deliveries from Russia are the most important issues which have not been resolved yet.

At the same time, Shushkevich emphasized that those "who accuse him of anti-Russian moods" are guided by poor instincts and not by sound sense."

The head of the parliament awaits a new democratic parliament and, perhaps, presidential elections in 1994.

Shushkevich Rejects Accusation of Anti-Russian Feelings

LD0401180694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1618 GMT 4 Jan 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Reports by Diplomatic Correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] Chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich believes that confirmation of the idea to create the CIS, thanks to which the "hard" option of former Soviet republics' division was excluded, was the major outcome of 1993.

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Shushkevich emphasized that those "who accuse him of anti-Russian feelings" are guided by poor instincts and not by sound sense."

He also warned that "a protest against separate outbursts by separate or different Russian politicians could grow into anti-Russian policy."

Kebich Departs for Moscow Talks With Cheromyrdin

LD0401164394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] On Tuesday Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich departed from Minsk for Moscow to meet with his Russian counterpart Viktor Chernomyrdin. The press service of the Belarusian premier reported to INTERFAX that the heads of the two governments intend to finally coordinate issues regarding unification of Russia's and Belarus' monetary systems.

To this effect, our INTERFAX correspondent in Belarus reported that a joint statement of the two governments was expected to be voiced in late December, 1993.

Kebich Comments on Gas Supplies Accord With Russia

LD0401183394 Minsk Belarusian Foreign Ministry Department of Information in Russian 1555 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] V. Kebich, chairman of the Belarusian Council of Ministers, has received the leaders of the board of the Russian joint-stock company, Gazprom. An agreement was signed, according to which 16 billion cubic meters of Russian gas will be delivered to Belarus this year. Later it is planned to double this figure. The request of the Belarusian side to lower prices for supplies of gas to the republic was received sympathetically.

Belarus Lifts Foreign Travel Restrictions

LD2812165293 Minsk Belarusian Foreign Ministry Department of Information in Russian 0734 GMT 28 Dec 93

[Text] The Law "On the Procedure of the Exit from and Entry into the Republic of Belarus of Citizens of the Republic of Belarus" comes into effect on 1 January 1994. It lifts all restrictions on the issuance of a general civil foreign travel passport. In order to obtain it, one will not have to produce private or service invitations at local visa and registration departments. A written application will be sufficient, and a passport will be issued in due course. Moreover, there will be no need in the new year for a separate permission entry [in the passport] stating the country and the time limits for going there. The new passport will be valid to go to any country in the

world a number of times. This was the topic of a news conference held in Minsk with the participation of representatives of the Foreign Affairs Ministry Consular Directorate, the Internal Affairs Ministry Passport and Visa Service, and the republic's Border Troops Chief Directorate.

U.S. Inspection Teams Can Arrive Directly

WS0401201394 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] A point of entry for U.S. military inspection teams has been opened at Minsk-2 airport. The teams are coming to Belarus to inspect the former USSR bases housing short- and medium-range missiles. According to General Major Viktar Vakar, head of the National Agency for Control and Inspections, before the opening of the facility, U.S. teams arrived via Moscow, which contradicted Belarusian sovereignty, as in those cases U.S. experts were accompanied by Russian military officials, while Belarus had to pay for their airfare.

Political Observer Views NATO's Expansion Into East Europe

WS0401143894 Minsk CHYRVONAYA ZMENA in Belarusian 28 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Alyaksandr Loyka: "Russia Opposes Deepening of NATO's Influence Over Eastern Europe"]

[Text] Lately, the states of Central and East Europe have attracted the attention of West Europe and Russia. NATO is eager to have member states on the border with Russia, to strengthen the market potential of former Warsaw Pact states. Russia, in its turn, is doing everything to prevent NATO intrusion into East Europe because, in its viewpoint, this military union represents a threat to Russia's geopolitical interests.

Meanwhile, there are few officials in Russia who take into consideration the viewpoint of East European states. Some of them view NATO as a guarantor of their national security (Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary). Those states which are closer to Russia made attempts to create something akin to a third Europe. The existence of the Republic of Poland is an historic example of such a political structure in Europe. In the 18th century, this type of state did not meet the expectations of its population because it could not withstand the expansion of East and West, and was divided by them according to their spheres of influence. Lack of economic initiative, political anarchy, and Poland's eagerness to become rich at the expense of Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine were the reasons for the collapse of the Republic.

The establishment a Central European market stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea is, simply put, highly unlikely due to the fact that both Russia and Germany will oppose this idea. Furthermore, the existence of this structure will mean the division of Europe into three military-economic blocks and the breaking up of the existing market relations. In my mind, the NATO proposal on the participation of East European states in the European integration process seems more likely. Following such a course, these states could secure access to Western capital and technology.

In Belarus, the last variant of the development of events in Europe is not supported at all. The opposition, represented primarily by the Belarusian Popular Front, is striving to implement its idea of setting up a Baltic-Black Sea Association, a kind of politically neutral buffer zone between NATO and Russia. This military-political draft project has an historic background. The Belarusian nomenclature, as represented by the Kebich government, is striving to establish a close union with Russia based on a joint monetary system. In fact, in Belarus, we are witnessing a struggle being launched in the financial sector. Currently, two monetary units—the dollar and ruble—are reigning supreme in the Belarusian market. Dollars symbolize Western trends, while rubles—the Russian tendencies. Our Belarusian "hares" [nickname for Belarusian currency notes] are struggling for independence under conditions that are extremely unfavorable for the existence of capital and is gradually losing the game because the capital is located somewhere else, not in Belarus.

The latest events in the Supreme Soviet have shown that even though Vyacheslav Kebich defeated the opposition, he could not beat the dollar. Belarus is likely to introduce its own national currency and enter the world market with its normal criteria of business relations. I regret that this idea is not supported by a political force, which could explain why Belarus is not going to use its neutral position for the division of Europe. The neutrality was imposed on the Republic by its specific geopolitical location. A similar notion of neutrality was used by Austria when it found itself between two Europes (the socialist and the capitalist one). Finland has also used a similar tactic. It is clear that the leaders of these countries understood quite well that the principle of regional security has not lost its significance in the 20th century. NATO cannot be dissolved because it guards the interests of democratic states. It is evident that these states require protection because the totalitarian regime of the former USSR has not yet passed away. This totalitarian system is manifested in the aggressive Islamic fundamentalism and Asian communism (North Korea). It is also manifested in local nationalist tendencies (Germany, Russia). Therefore, totalitarianism is both a state of mind and a military-political strategy. Russia could find a partner in NATO for waging harsh fights against Eastern totalitarianism, especially in Tajikistan. However, the Russian military is against this union. The egoism of a neighboring superpower will force Belarus to either give up or find its own path to a civilized world.

The acting Supreme Soviet is unable to resolve this issue because its majority adopts only those decisions which protect their interests. The Supreme Soviet opposition faction is too weak. Nevertheless, the political and

economic processes continue to develop. In my opinion, the dollar will win the battle.

For Moscow officials and the Belarusian Supreme Soviet majority, it is a usual thing that local provincial interests are being settled in Moscow. Therefore, V. Kebich and S. Shushkevich are continually visiting Moscow. Meanwhile, Moscow is uttering threats against disobedient Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan because they cannot stem the flow of Russians from their territories.

Social Democratic Assembly Urges Early Elections

WS0401185694 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Belarusian 27 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Belarusian Social Democratic Assembly Supports Early Elections"]

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Central Council of the Belarusian Social Democratic Assembly [BSDH] has adopted a declaration regarding the report delivered at the recent Supreme Soviet session by members of the temporary committee for investigating the activities of commercial structures.

The declaration emphasizes that Deputy Lukashenka's report provides facts already known to the public. The accompanying report by S. Antonchik was more principled because it revealed the major causes of corruption—the preservation of the old political system, an absence of economic reform, and chaos in the legislature. These factors provide favorable conditions for the ruling nomenklatura's embezzlements.

The BSDH Executive Committee believes that the three-day debate on the issue demonstrated that all echelons of power, from village soviets to the Supreme Soviet and from local executive committees to the Council of Ministers, are involved in corruption.

The Latin meaning of the word "corruption" is bribery, and it is no exaggeration to say that our officials are corrupt. This is the only explanation for the reign of crime, especially organized crime in the Republic. Officials and deputies bribed by dealers of the shadow economy cannot adopt appropriate laws and take practical measures to put an end to evil. On the contrary, they are interested in disorder and confusion, for this gives them a chance to grow rich at the expense of the people.

The data on corruption in all echelons of power force us to draw practical conclusions—both the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers should resign. The demands for a coalition government and for holding early elections, voiced by democratic parties and movements, remain as urgent as ever.

To ban people access to information on corruption in the organs of power, the Supreme Soviet majority made a decision to continue the session behind closed doors. The rest of the session turned into an ordinary row aimed at answering one question—who stole more.

At the session, some deputies insisted that the Supreme Soviet rescind its resolution adopted in October 1992. At that time, disregarding the demand of 380,000 electors to hold a referendum, the Supreme Soviet promised to expeditiously adopt a new constitution and hold early elections in spring 1994. Clutching to their posts, the communist majority in the legislature is ready to annul this decision.

The closed session on 16 December was used for attacks on Stanislav Shushkevich and to voice further demands for his resignation.

The BSDH Executive Committee calls upon all Belarusian residents to demand early Supreme Soviet elections in spring 1994 and support the initiative of strikers' committees to form a coalition government.

Moldova

Authorities Reject Alleged CSCE Proposal on Ilascu Trial

AU0401124894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] With respect to the criminal case of the Ilascu group, the CSCE Mission in Moldova has proposed that a court of justice consisting of three judges each representing Chisinau, Tiraspol, and other countries should be set up. If one or all of the culprits is found guilty by that court, the execution of the sentence should be carried out by Moldova. Radio Rossii, which broadcast the news, mentioned that the Tiraspol authorities favor the CSCE suggestion, provided that Russia, a country that enjoys the confidence of the Dniester leaders, should vouch for the independence of the court.

The CSCE Mission in Moldova has also warned against the perils of using the Ilascu case for political purposes.

A commentary broadcast last night by BBC cites, among other things, a statement by Mr. Pavel Barbalat, the chairman of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Republic of Moldova, that he had not been briefed on the CSCE recommendations and that the Moldovan party would refuse such a formula. In this way [Dniester leader Grigore] Maracuta, Mr. Barbalat assessed, merely wishes to have the legality of his office confirmed, although he had assumed that office arbitrarily. The sole solution to the problem would be the unconditional transfer of the prisoners from Tiraspol to Chisinau, as otherwise there are no guarantees that in the future other separatist forces would not stage a new trial and then ask for a three-party trial of the case.

Also according to the BBC, Mr. Dumitru Postovan, the chief prosecutor of the Republic of Moldova, has also stated in turn that he has no knowledge about any such suggestion by the CSCE Mission.

Dniester Leaders Fail To Contact Russia's Grachev

AU0501075594 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2021 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Tiraspol BASAPRESS, 3/1/1994—From our special correspondent: Grigore Maracuta, speaker of the Dniester Republic's Supreme Soviet, and Viktor Sinyov [name as received], deputy premier of the Dniester Republic, have visited Moscow. They attempted to have an audience with Russian Minister of Defense Pavel Grachev. Reliable sources state that Tiraspol representatives intended to suggest Grachev to annul his visit to Moldova and Romania and sign some military agreements. Maracuta and Sinyov also intended to obtain the transfer of the 14th Army commander [General Aleksandr Lebed] to another military district. However, the audience was not granted.

Talks on Pullout of 14th Army To Take Place in Jan

AU0501075494 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2021 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 3/01/1994—The eighth round of Moldovan-Russian negotiations on the statute, condition, and terms of the 14th Army's withdrawal will take place at the end of January in Chisinau, states the Press Secretariat of the Moldovan Ministry of Defense. According to sources at this Ministry, the previous round was suspended because Moldovan representatives insisted, among others, on compensating the 14th Army presence in Moldova. Moldovan representatives also insisted on 1 July as the final day of the Russian troops' withdrawal. Previously, the Press Secretariat of the Ministry of Defense made a protest declaration denying Stepan Kitsak's affirmations. Stepan Kitsak declared that the Moldovan Ministry of Defense took the property and equipment of the Battalion 2 Cable And Radio of the 14th Army.

Tiraspol Withdraws Accreditation of Russian Reporter

AU0501075294 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2021 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Tiraspol BASAPRESS, 3/01/1994—The state committee for radio and TV of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic has decided to deny the accreditation of Lev Rozenberg, reporter of the Russian EXPRESS KHRONIKA news agency at the Tiraspol Supreme Soviet. The reason is an article published in EXPRESS KHRONIKA No. 45 regarding some actions of the Tiraspol authorities last October, including the voyage of commandos to Moscow to defend the White House. Although many Moscow publications proved that Tiraspol was involved in the bloodshed, it is the first time when Tiraspol authorities deny the accreditation of a Russian journalist.

Tajikistan

Opposition Forces 'Mass' on Afghan-Tajik Border

LD0401220594 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Throughout the holidays the operational situation on the Tajik-Afghan border remained relatively calm. According to a report by the press center of the command of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan, no armed provocations were registered on any of the sectors. Incidentally, it notes that the Tajik opposition armed formations continue to mass on the Afghan side. In connection with this, the outposts of the Moskovskiy and Pyandzh detachments of the Russian border troops and also subunits of Tajikistan's National Security Committee are on enhanced combat readiness.

Fresh Clashes Reported on Afghan Border 4 Jan

LD0501102894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0755 GMT 5 Jan 94

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 5 Jan—The ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned from sources at the command headquarters of the Russian frontier troops in Tajikistan that yesterday afternoon a well armed grouping of Tajik fighters tried to invade the territory of Tajikistan from Afghanistan in the sector of the outpost of the Pyandzh frontier detachment (in the south of the republic). As a result of the armed clash, which lasted approximately five hours, two of the trespassers were killed and the remainder returned to the adjacent bank of the river. Yesterday two armed groups also tried to break through in several sections of the Pyandzh frontier detachment from the territory of Afghanistan. They were, however, halted by the fire of the Russian frontier guards. There are no casualties among the Russian servicemen.

At the present time, it was stressed at the command headquarters, the situation in the sector of the Pyandzh frontier detachment is being kept under control by the joint actions of the Russian frontier guards and the sub-units of Tajikistan's National Security Committee.

Pakistan Reportedly Ready To Help in Tajik-Afghan Conflict

PM0401151994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Vladimir Skosyrev report under the "From Our Correspondents and News Agencies" rubric: "Pakistan Will Help Settle Conflict on Afghan-Tajik Border"]

[Text] Delhi—Pakistan is ready to help settle the conflict on the border between Afghanistan and Tajikistan.

Head of the Pakistani Government Benazir Bhutto explained at a press conference on her visit to China that during a recent meeting with Afghan President B. Rabbani she had supported his policy to improve relations with Tajikistan and other CIS states. At the same time the prime minister let it be understood that Pakistan does not wish to interfere in the disputes between the various armed groupings in Afghanistan, on which the situation on the border with Tajikistan depends.

Replacement of Soviet Rubles With Russian Rubles Set for 5 Jan

LD0501103194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0833 GMT 5 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe January 5 TASS—Under arrangements reached by the Governments of Russia and Tajikistan, the introduction of Russian money to replace Soviet begins in Tajikistan as of this Wednesday [5 January]. Chairman of the National Bank Kayum Kavmiddinov announced this on local tv late on Tuesday evening.

All banknotes with the denomination of five and ten thousand roubles will be withdrown from circulatuion as of January 5. One thousand, 500 and 100 rouble banknotes will remain valid till January 8. Old banknotes held by the population can be put on special accounts in savings banks, Kavmiddinov said. When all the old banknotes are withdrown, these sums can be taken from the accounts. Sums in excess of 200 thousand roubles will be put on accounts upon the declaration of incomes. The January wages, salaries, pensions and other alowances will be paid in new Russian banknotes in the amount not surpassing 32 thousands which is equal to four minimum wages.

The chairman of the national bank announced the ban on taking Russian money out of Tajikistan and a temporary stoppage of the registration of various commercial enterprises.

Uzbekistan

President Karimov Terms Visit to India 'Successful'

LD0401194594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1818 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Bulantsev]

[Text] New Delhi January 4 TASS—"Our visit to India has been successful. We have fulfilled all our plans. The visit has been rather fruitful. India and Uzbekistan have big possibilities for developing cooperation," Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov said.

The announcement was made in an interview with ITAR-TASS on Tuesday on the second day of Karimov's official visit to India. "We have reached understanding with India in the sphere of economy and culture, as well

as diplomacy and in determining our common positions in order to ensure stability in Central Asia and the entire region," Karimov stressed.

"We are connected with India, this great Asian power with a great potential, by both similar mentality and common historic roots. Now new possibilities for cooperation are opening up before us," he said.

On Tuesday, Karimov held talks with Indian Foreign Minister Dinesh Singh and Finance Minister Manmohan Singh. He also met with representatives of Indian business circles and attended a ceremony at the Jawaharlal Nehru University where he was awarded an honorary degree of doctor of law.

President Opposes Dual Citizenship Idea

MK0401103094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 3

[Albert Musin report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Uzbekistan"]

[Excerpts] In the two days of its deliberations, the Supreme Soviet session has considered over 40 matters, including 20 draft laws. [passage omitted]

As key news agencies have already reported, President Karimov vehemently opposed the introduction of dual citizenship in Uzbekistan, citing the need to make sure that all Uzbekistan citizens retain "the feeling of patriotism." Karimov suggested that Russia "not interfere in Uzbekistan's internal affairs." Undoubtedly, what he meant by this was Andrey Kozyrev's trip to Tashkent in November, when the Russian Foreign Ministry chief raised the question of ethnic Russians' assuming dual citizenship as a measure designed to prevent their mass migration from Uzbekistan.

Even before starting official talks with Kozyrev, the Uzbekistan president took the Russian ambassador to Tashkent to task in front of journalists, saying that he "will have to answer" for "raising the specious problem of the Russian-speaking population in Uzbekistan." Later, the journalists who rushed to the Russian Embassy saw a line of 700 people craving to obtain Russian citizenship and leave Uzbekistan...

Also on the agenda were matters of the state budget and the socioeconomic situation in Uzbekistan, although they were barely touched.

Cabinet Adopts Rules for Distributing Hard Currency Earnings

LD0401133794 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1101 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers of Uzbekistan has adopted a resolution regulating the distribution of hard currency earnings of enterprises. According to the resolution, enterprises, organizations, and associations of all forms of ownership are obliged to pay a 15 percent tax on foreign currency earnings to the hard currency fund, and another 15 percent must be sold to the republic's Central Bank. On the conclusion of barter export-import operations, the amount of earnings will be calculated from the value of the contract. Work on special measures to monitor the movement of money in foreign currency, in order to exclude the possibility of the unauthorized holding of money in foreign banks, is also envisaged.

Armenia

Azerbaijanis Reportedly Sustaining Losses

NC0401163194 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The Azerbaijani Army formations have been sustaining enormous losses in their incessant attacks on Karabakh defensive positions for the past three weeks.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army Press Service reported that heavy fighting continued on the north and northeast fronts on the evening of 3 January. After losing one tank, one infantry fighting vehicle, and 90 soldiers and officers, the enemy retreated to its initial positions. Five fighters were killed and 13 wounded on the Karabakh side. The fighting has continued in these sectors since this morning.

The same source says Azerbaijani soldiers frequently surrender. Four gave themselves up on 3 January alone and 14 have surrendered over the past three weeks. They confessed to being forced to fight fearing execution by the so-called deterrent detachments, which stay behind the Army formations. According to the prisoners, the deterrent detachments are basically formed of Afghan mojahedin because the Azerbaijanis themselves refuse to fire on their own soldiers.

Friends, for many days now we have been unable—through no fault of our own—to report on the situation in the border regions of the Republic. Telephone links have been disrupted preventing us from receiving reports from the Defense Ministry's press service.

Iranian Envoy Conveys Message From Official

NC0401160094 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Armenian Supreme Council Chairman Babken Ararktsyan today received the Iranian Charge d'Affaires ad Interim Ahmad Sobhani at Sobhani's request.

The diplomat congratulated the Supreme Council chairman on the new year and handed him a message from Nateq-Nuri, the speaker of the Iranian Parliament. He also expressed Iran's readiness to establish parliamentary cooperation.

Armenian-Iranian ties, prospects for developing mutually advantageous cooperation, and regional issues were discussed at the meeting.

Officials To Seek IMF Aid in Washington

NC0401205094 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Deputy Economy Minister Armen Darbinyan has reported plans for Economy Minister Armen Yegiazaryan and First Deputy Foreign Minister Zhirair Liparityan to visit Washington. They will visit the IMF to hold talks on economic cooperation and will provide detailed information to the Fund's directors on the latest political developments.

Armenia has long been conducting talks with the IMF but the situation in the region means the IMF thinks it is inappropriate to allocate money to Armenia and Azerbaijan out of the stabilization fund for countries moving toward independence; the argument is that the resources could be directly or indirectly used for nonpeaceful purposes.

To dispel such an opinion, the Armenian president recently wrote to IMF Managing Director Camdessus expressing the hope that the IMF will soften its stance since Armenia is not a warring side and the international community has not recognized it as such.

Once in Washington, the Armenian delegation will reiterate our country's position, that is, to help in every way to establish peace in the region.

Azerbaijan

Fighting Resumes in Nagorno-Karabakh 4 Jan

LD0401124694 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] The Lur agency reports that Azerbaijani troops are sustaining losses in their offensive against Karabakh positions. According to the Nagorno-Karabakh army press service, Azerbaijan's losses numbered more than 90 men and officers. Combat operations resumed this morning in the north and northeast of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, where fierce fighting has been going on relentlessly for the last few days.

Retreat, Surrender Reported

LD0401143794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1312 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jan—Fighting is continuing in the north and northeast of Nagorno-Karabakh. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told today by the department of press and information of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] that on Monday evening subunits of the Azerbaijani Army, which had gone on the offensive, were forced to retreat to their original positions after losing two armored vehicles and with around 90 soldiers and officers killed. Five soldiers were killed and 13 injured on the Karabakh side.

According to a report from the news service of the NKR defense army, instances of Azerbaijani servicemen voluntarily giving themselves up as prisoners have increased. Fourteen people have done this over the past two weeks. The prisoners say that they are being forced into this because they are frightened of being shot by mine-laying detachments coming from behind. Among

the soldiers in the mine-laying detachments are Afghan mojahedin and the fact of their involvement in the Karabakh war on the Azerbaijani side is admitted by both military experts and independent observers.

According to the NKR State Committee for Defense, there are more than 40 seized documents in Stepanakert that show that around 1,500 Afghan mojahedin are involved in the conflict on the Azerbaijani side. They came to Azerbaijan as far back as July last year. The mojahedin's subunits are also suffering losses.

'Fierce Battles' Continue

LD0501115894 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0600 GMT 5 Jan 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Fierce battles are continuing in Nagorno-Karabakh between Azerbaijani formations and NKR [Nagorno-Karabakh Republic] forces. After intensive shelling, Azerbaijani troops have begun an offensive along the whole frontline from the Iraqi border [as heard] down to the Mrav Ridge [Crest] in the north of NKR's Mardakertskiy Rayon. There are casualties and fatalities on both sides.

Stepanakert has denied Baku's reports of the Azeri Army's successful capture of a number of settlements in the north section of the Karabakh front.

Turkish Officer Credited With Army Success

NC0401152694 Istanbul YENI GUNAYDIN in Turkish 1 Jan 94 p 4

[Report by Ridvan Sapmaz]

[Text] Baku—The gradual transition to a regular army is the reason for the recent successes scored by the Azerbaijanis against the Armenians. The transformation of the Presidential Guard, which is directly attached to President Geydar Aliyev, into a "regular army" has brought the victory nearer. The guardsmen are being trained at a location some 50-km from Baku to adapt to any natural environment. The Azerbaijani commanders in their turn have been trained by the officers of the Turkish Armed Forces.

The Discipline of the Turkish Army

The [Azerbaijani] commanders are saying: "We were trained by Turkish officers. Had we received this training beforehand, the Armenians would not have been able to occupy our lands." Indicating that their military discipline is fashioned after the discipline in the Turkish Army, the commanders are saying: "The Armenians will now see how we fight. The previous defeats were not our fault. The volunteer units were the cause for our reverses. Any person wanting to fight must fight under the command of the national army."

Aliyev, Border Troop Commander Hold Discussions

LD0401142694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1137 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] On January 3, Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev received commander of the Russian border troops Colonel-General Andrey Nikolayev to discuss cooperation between the Azerbaijani and Russian border troops. A well informed source in the Azerbaijani president's staff told Interfax that Moscow would like to help Baku protect the Azerbaijani section of the CIS borders.

The same source noted, however, that the inviolability of the Azerbaijani border with Armenia was the most important issue at the moment. "We demand the territorial integrity and inviolability of our borders," Geydar Aliyev stated during the talks. "Azerbaijan will work to ensure this," he added.

Aliyev also demonstrated Azerbaijan's readiness for constructive cooperation with Russia in the protection of Azerbaijan's external borders.

Both Aliyev and Nikolayev stated that their countries advocated peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

Further on Talks

NC0401184894 Baku AZERTAC in English 1704 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Baku, January 4 (AZERTAC)—Yesterday, President Aliyev and Colonel-General Andrey Nikolayev, supreme commander of the Russian Federation Frontiers Defence Forces, discussed on the question of ensuring the CIS frontiers security.

The Azerbaijani president expressed his readiness to cooperate in the field of protection of the border between the two countries as well as the frontiers between the Commonwealth and its neighbours. According to him, both issues mentioned are narrowly related to one another and must be dealt with together. The president thinks that this approach is in accordance with the spirit of the treaty on common security of the CIS. Urgent measures in order to implement the Treaty have recently been evaluated out at the Ashgabat summit. In respect to this, Mr. Aliyev has expressed his concern about the situation in Azeri districts bordering Armenia. 170 kms of the frontier between the two countries are under control of Armenian troops. President Aliyev also pointed out that the frontier between Azerbaijan and Armenia has turned into an arena of military operations.

The commander-in-chief of the Russian frontier troops is giving priority to the reinforcement of the security of frontiers between the CIS and neighbouring countries. He has pointed out that it was necessary to coordinate measures to be taken in this context. Russia and Azerbaijan have to work out a definite concept of how to cooperate in this field, he said.

In his short statement made to the local media, Mr. Andrey Nikolayev said that negotiations would continue, including the issue of mutual cooperation as far as the frontiers protection is concerned. Mr. Nikolayev evaded a question on plans of the possible stationing of Russian frontier troops on the border between Azerbaijan and Iran. Everything depends on the eventual terms agreed upon by both parties, he said.

Defense Minister Says Offensive Out of Question

LD0401174294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1612 GMT 4 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva, Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku January 4 TASS—"Any offensive, the more so aggressive actions of the Azeri Army fighting on its territory to liberate the motherland are out of the question," Azeri Defence Minister Major-general Mamedrafi Mamedov told an exclusive ITAR-TASS interview here today.

He stressed "the National Army units had to involve in fierce defensive fighting and have managed to force the enemy out from the occupied populated localities".

"In the first days of the new year they deterred the enemy's attack in the Adgam direction near the Agdam regional center seized in summer 1993. Successful counter-actions have resulted in the destruction of seven tanks and two apcs. More than 200 soldiers of the enemy were killed, several villages were taken under the national army control. There are no Armenian units in these villages, but they are under constant shelling which prevents the local population from returning home", he said.

The defence minister estimated as protracted position fighting combat operations in the Azeri west, where the national army units have crossed the Murovdag Ridge between the Azeri south-west and north-west and continue to move towards the Kelbajar region occupied in April 1993. The situation in the Beylagan direction in the republic's south-west remains complicated, as the Azeris are holding the line against the attacking Armenian units.

According to the recent reports, the situation has aggravated in the north-western border Kazakh region. The latter was put under rocket-artillery shelling from the Armenian Noyemberyan region on Monday, which resulted in considerable destructions and losses amongst civilians. The Azeris responded with the suppression of several fire nests on the adjoining territory.

The general reported the capture of a major military storage of the enemy in the Geranboy region located outside Nagorno-Karabakh. According to him, the Armenians planed to use the storage's arms in another large-scale offensive inside Azerbaijan.

The minister is convinced combat operations on Azeri territory could have been stopped long ago if no additional materiel and personnel were sent from Armenian territory almost every day. In January the Armenians moved reserves to the Agdam area, where they had had only advanced security element. As a result, the situation was considerably aggravated.

PRC President Jiang Invites Aliyev To Visit

LD0501103994 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0800 GMT 5 Jan 94

[Text] A letter from Jiang Zemin, president of the People' Republic of China, reached the address of Geydar Aliyev, president of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

In his letter, the president of People's Republic of China, attaching great importance to multi-faceted strengthening and development of friendly and economic relations between Azerbaijan and China, invites Geydar Aliyev, president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, to China for an official visit at a time that is convenient for him.

Aliyev To Visit Turkey 'Probably in January'

NC0401163794 Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 1 Jan 94 p 4

[Text] Azerbaijan, which liberated two settlements after repulsing Armenian attacks, started the new year by celebrating the "Day of solidarity of Azerbaijanis all over the world."

Former President Abulfaz Elchibey, who was removed from power by a coup in 1993, issued a message stating that "an independent and democratic Azerbaijan is a major threat to imperialist forces." Indicating that Azerbaijan is living under extremely grave conditions, Elchibey called on the Azerbaijani diaspora to help the refugees. Elchibey repeated his call for unity and togetherness and said no power will manage to divide the people.

In the meantime, opposition is growing against Geydar Aliyev, whose position has weakened because of growing economic disarray and further loss of territory after the fall of Elchibey. The detentions of the leaders of People's Front and Musavat Party, which forged a national unity on the instructions of Elchibey, is continuing. The reporters are under pressure following the introduction of censorship against the opposition papers. It is being reported that Mahir Memedov, one of the directors of the paper DZHUMHURIYET, has been detained and is being asked to resign his job.

Geydar Aliyev, who disbanded the 37 volunteer battalions formed during the Elchibey era, has now ordered the detention of Adil Hashimoglu, who has been commanding the volunteer detachments since the start of the war with Armenians. Adil Hashimoglu, who commanded the units in Kubatlinskiy and Zangelanskiy Rayons at the request of Elchibey and who was instrumental in the latest military successes, was detained on

the pretext that in complicity with the People's Front he was plotting a coup in Ganja against Aliyev. The detention of Hashimoglu, coming soon after the imprisonment of the people's hero Arif Pashaogly and Chief of the Security Directorate in Kazakhskiy Rayon, caused a reaction among the refugees in Ganja and Baku.

Demirel Invited Aliyev

It was agreed to set up a group to draw up a border agreement between Azerbaijan and Turkey. It was confirmed that the borders of Azerbaijan's Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic cannot be altered forcibly and that the 1921 Kars treaty recognizes guarantorship rights to Turkey.

In a statement issued by Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin and Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov, it was stated: "Turkey will not remain a mere spectator if an attempt is made to forcibly alter the borders of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic."

In seeing off Gasan Gasanov at Ankara's Esenboga Airport, Hikmet Cetin handed him a personal letter from President Suleyman Demirel. Cetin said that the letter is an invitation to Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev to visit Turkey.

Gasanov stated that Aliyev will visit Turkey most probably in January and added that the Turkic republics' heads of state summit, which was held in Ankara on 29 October last year, will be held in Baku between 20-22 January.

Draft Constitution 'Almost Completed'

PM0401150194 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Report from the PRAVDA, ITAR-TASS column: "With No Haste or Fuss"]

[Text] A draft new Azerbaijan Constitution will be submitted for parliamentary debate this spring.

The working group preparing the draft has almost completed work on the text. Nonetheless, it still has to be "polished." The experience of the independent states proclaimed following the collapse of the Union has shown that the adoption of a constitution that is new in content is a protracted and labor-intensive process. It would be inappropriate to rush such an important job.

Deserters Told To Return or 'Be Severely Punished'

NC0401171394 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0400 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Military Procuracy has revealed that the members of the Azerbaijani National Army are heroically fighting on the battlefront to liberate our homeland from the enemy. But it also said the following: Many have been martyred and many others have become national heroes, the pride of our people. But some have also displayed cowardice and fled the ranks of the military forces at this difficult time for our homeland. Several have taken their arms and other material with them. Such people cannot be forgiven. So the deserters will be punished severely. They may even be sentenced to death.

Acting in a humanitarian way, the Republic's leaders have decided to give them the opportunity to rectify their criminal behavior by voluntarily returning to fight on the battlefront. So, a department has been established within the Azerbaijani Military Procuracy's framework. No criminal charges will be brought against deserters who voluntarily apply for military service before 3 January 1994. The applications must be made to the following address: Azerbaijan [word indistinct], no. 30, Baku City.

That applies to all deserters, regardless of when they fled their units. If they don't, criminal charges will be brought against them and they will be severely punished. We have the strength and the means to do so.

Islamic Leader, Israeli Envoy Meet, Discuss Ties

NC0401184794 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] Sheikh-ul-Islam Hadji Allahshukyur Pasha-zade, the chairman of the Supreme Religious Council of the Caucasian Muslims, today received the Israeli Charge d'Affaires ad Interim in Azerbaijan (Yulvozr Yotbat) at (Yotbat's) request.

Sheikh-ul-Islam Hadji Allahshukyur Pasha-zade congratulated the Israeli people on the new year and discussed the recent broadening of friendship ties between Azerbaijan and Israel. He hoped the Israeli Government would spare no effort to inform the international community about the events in Azerbaijan and the truth concerning the Armenian aggression against our land.

The Israeli charge expressed his thanks for the reception he was afforded and welcomed the sheikh's call on people everywhere to support Azerbaijan. The guest said Azerbaijan is facing a refugee problem and the Israel Government will continue to provide humanitarian assistance.

State Committee for Reforms Established

NC0401220594 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0400 GMT 30 Dec 93

[Text] The State Committee for Reforms has been established to effect economic reforms in Azerbaijan. It will draw up concrete reform programs and outline the mechanisms required to realize them. Ruhshen Mustafayev, director of the Institute of State Construction and Internaional Relations, has been appointed to head the new committee.

Georgia

Russia Warns Georgia of Continuing Violations

LD0401195794 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1520 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, 4 Jan—It has become known to Iberia that the forcible seizure of apartments belonging to Russian servicemen continues. In this connection the Russian Foreign Ministry strictly warns the Georgian authorities that if the Georgian Guard continues to forcibly occupy apartments belonging to Russian servicemen, then top Georgian political authorities will be made fully responsible for the possible consequences.

Commission Set Up To Solve Conflict Problems

NC0401202894 Yerevan SNARK in English 1247 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, January 4 (SNARK)—There created the joint commission on the regulation of the conflict in the Southern Ossetia. Aleksandr Kavsadze, Shevardnadze's representative in the conflict zones, told SNARK the commission will give the chance to organize the meetings with the participation of the Georgian, Southern Ossetian, Russian and the CSCE representatives. The conflict should be solved in two directions—political and economic directions. The first task is to deliver food to the Georgian population of Southern Ossetia.

Patsatsiya Voices Peace Hopes for South Ossetia

LD0401141094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1137 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Georgian Prime Minister Otar Patsatsiya expressed hope that the Georgian-Ossetian conflict would be entirely settled this year and tens of thousands of refugees would be able to return to their homes in South Ossetia. The premier voiced this statement in the village of Tamaresheni in South Ossetia, which he visited on January 3.

The press center of the Georgian government reported to Interfax that the premier had a meeting with the command of the Russian and Ossetian peacekeeping battalions on the territory of the Russian military unit not far from Tskhinvali, an administrative center in South Ossetia. Since July 1992, these battalions have been overseeing the cease-fire in this region together with Georgian servicemen.

Patsatsiya also visited several Georgian villages in South Ossetia where he promised the local population to provide them with food products and other necessary consumer goods.

The Georgian-Ossetian conflict began in January 1991 as a result of Georgian forces introduced into South Ossetia after the South Ossetian leadership declared its intention to raise the status of South Ossetia.

Ardzinba Expresses Doubts Over 11 Jan Talks

NC0401202194 Yerevan SNARK in English 1247 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Tbilisi, January 4 (SNARK)—Vladislav Ardzinba, the Abkhazian Head, expressed his skeptical attitude to the Georgian-Abkhazian negotiations which should take place on January 11. Speaking yesterday to the Gudauta radio Ardzinba said that Abkhazi will never be the part of Georgia. Abkhazia won the war, that's why Abkhazia should determine the conditions at the negotiations.

Meanwhile, Aleksandr Kavsadze, Shevardnadze's representative in the conflict zones, told SNARK the war was without the victors and vanquished. He is of the opinion that Ardzinba is being supported by the concrete political forces who are deeply interested in the tension in the region.

'Special Situation Regime' Tightened in Abkhazia

LD0401174694 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] The special situation regime has been tightened throughout the territory of Abkhazia. The reason is that during the post-war period a lot of time has been spent on setting up law enforcement bodies and strengthening them with professionals, time which has been used by criminal elements. By the end of 1993, a RIA correspondent was told by Konstantin Adleber, chief of staff of the Abkhazian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Headquarters, that the number of particularly serious crimes has been considerably reduced. Those who violate the curfew are now subjected to a fine of 5,000 rubles or detained for 3-15 hours. No military servicemen or other persons carrying weapons are allowed on the streets. The sale of spirits has been banned.

Tbilisi Commander Says Tougher Curfew Needed

LD0401212094 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Koba Kobaidze, a journalist, is here in our studio.

[Kobaidze] I welcome you again, dear radio listeners. You are well aware that, by a decision of the city commandant's office, the curfew was lifted in Tbilisi on 1 and 2 January. Commandant Zaza Chachua will speak about the results of this move.

[Begin recording] [Chachua] People kept shooting and walking in the streets. There were road accidents and other things.

[Kobaidze] What can you envisage in the long run?

[Chachua] In the long run? The curfew must become as strict as possible and the administrative bodies must handle everything more firmly. [passage omitted]

[Kobaidze] How long do you think Tbilisi will need a curfew?

[Chachua] Some more months. At least six months I think. This is the least. [passage omitted, new year greetings and wishes] [end recording]

No More Russian Troops To Enter Before Summit

LD0401191494 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Rumors persist in the republic to the effect that units of Russian Armed Forces have been brought in to Georgia. Major General Dyukov, deputy commander of the Transcaucasian group of Russian troops, has refuted this information, stating that only a positive resolution adopted on this issue at the upcoming Russo-Georgian summit will make it possible to bring any additional contingent of Russian Armed Forces into Georgia.

Denial of Russian Troops Arriving

LD0401211194 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Public statements by Tbilisi police chief David Zeikidze who said that a few hundred Russian servicemen would be sufficient for the effective implementation of the state of emergency regime in the Georgian capital—just as this had been the case in the Black Sea port of Poti— were today unexpectedly transformed into rumors embroidered with improbable details.

Thus it was claimed that in the past 24 hours crack subunits of the Feliks Dzerzhinskiy Moscow Division of Russia's Internal Affairs troops had landed at the airport in the Tbilisi suburb of Vaziani and that as early as tomorrow they would, together with the republic's law enforcement bodies, start jointly patrolling the Georgian capital.

Representatives of the command of the Russian force in the Transcausus, the press secretariat of the head of the Georgian State, and the press secretariat of the republic's competent bodies flatly denied this latest piece of news.

Guard for Oil Pipelines, Sites Implemented

LD0401213894 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1700 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY reports that the Georgian head of state's decree on guarding oil pipelines passing through Georgian territory and securing order at oil-prospecting sites has entitled the Georgian Interior Ministry and the petroleum department to begin implementing the decree immediately. An agreement has been signed between these two offices according to which the petroleum department has purchased appropriate equipment and firearms for the Interior Ministry. First Deputy Interior Minister General Gela Lanchava has taken personal responsibility in supervising the guard over the pipelines and sites. [passage omitted]

By the implementation of the decree, oil output will rise from 30 to 150 tonnes per day. The area guarded is being extended and consequently the quantity of oil extracted will also increase. In the very near future, Australian, American, and British firms will start oil-prospecting and geological surveying as well as the construction of small oil refineries. [passage omitted]

Tbilisi Plant, Moscow Designers Cooperate

PM0501101594 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2100 GMT 28 Dec 93

[By Georgiy Ratishvili and Georgiy Bazadze; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text][Ratishvili over video of new aircraft on tarmac] The Tbilisi Aviation Production Association together with the Yakovlev Design Bureau have built a new-generation six-seater passenger plane—the Yak-58. It is designed for executive and business flights but can be reequipped, without special additional expenditure, to function as an air ambulance or training or cargo plane. Its short takeoff and landing means that it can be used on improvised grass airstrips.

The creation of this aircraft marks the revival of mutually advantageous economic relations between the two states. A few days ago at the test range the new aircraft took off with enviable ease and reaching the required height successfully passed its first test. Present at the test range were head of the Georgian state Eduard Shevardnadze, Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia, and Georgian and foreign journalists.

Estonia

Meri Criticism of Yeltsin's Comments Reported

PM0401132594 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 94 p 1

[Report from the PRAVDA, ITAR-TASS column: "Estonian President Unhappy"]

[Text] Estonian President L. Meri has sharply criticized B. Yeltsin's New Year address, in which the Russian president advocated that the interests of the 25 million Russian citizens living in the republics of the former Soviet Union be better protected. In an interview with AP, Meri claimed in particular that: "The words and tone used by Yeltsin could be evidence of how weak democratic forces in Russia are. So Russia has chosen the path of utilizing the aggressive policy typical of the former USSR."

Coalition Delays Approving Cabinet Changes

LD0501104894 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0800 GMT 5 Jan 94

[BALTIC NEWS SERVICE report]

[Text] As it is known, the government coalition council at its session yesterday, did not reach a final agreement on the changes of the government's composition. For this, another meeting will be held on Thursday [6 January], and in this afternoon the coalition deputies will be able to acquaint themselves with the candidate ministers and their programs. In the words of the Isamaa [Fatherland] deputies, who wish to remain anonymous, the reason for the delay was the wish of the social democrats and their leader, Marju Lauristin, to listen to the program of the candidate finance minister Heiki Kranich. It is believed that Kranich will present it tomorrow, said a deputy. He was also convinced that the coalition council will approve on Thursday all the proposed candidates. The cabinet changes must be approved also by President Lennart Meri. According to an assertion by the aforementioned Isamaa deputy, Lennart Meri may be against the replacement of Minister of the Economy Toomas Sildmae. According to unconfirmed reports, Prime Minister Mart Laar does not wish to allow a situation to arise in which the president would leave some of his proposed candidates unendorsed. This might bring with it serious constitutional consequences. Today's meeting with the candidate ministers was said to have been arranged for gaining time, to hold discussions on solving this problem.

Israel To Supply Arms, Border Protection Equipment

PM0401132194 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 94 First Edition p 4

[Report by Leonid Levitskiy: "Israel Selling Arms to Estonia and Supplying Equipment for Its Borders"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian Government is taking measures to strengthen security along the republic's borders.

Electronic devices have already replaced the traditional barbed wire in many countries. Estonia also intends to protect itself in this way. Italy, Sweden, France, and Israel have offered it their electronic systems. The government discussed these offers together with the conclusions of experts. As Prime Minister Mart Laar announced at a press conference, the only scheme for guarding the land border which deserved any attention was the one Israel had put forward. It is with Israel that negotiations will be held.

According to the prime minister, electronic equipment will be set up along the full length of the border for a certain time. But the border with Latvia will in the future become unprotected. All equipment from it will be transferred to the Estonian-Russian border.

Israel has also concluded a contract to supply Estonia with arms worth $50 million on credit. There are enough of them for the whole Estonian Army.

Member of Zhirinovskiy's Organization Comments

WS0401193394 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1758 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Tallinn, January 4—"Russian Liberal Democratic Party has its daughter organization in Estonia," Pyotr Rozhok who was active as Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Estonian representative already before general elections in Russia, told ETA.

Rozhok who said he was Zhirinovskiy's advisor, but not head of the Estonian organization, refused to disclose the size of the party's Estonian branch.

"Also members of other parties can join our party, even if they are communists," Rozhok said while adding that membership fee was 100 rubles and admission fee ten rubles.

Rozhok said one of the party's tasks in Estonia was to provide Zhirinovskiy with materials on Baltics while adding that during election campaign Zhirinovskiy had made abundant use of the information.

"When the right time comes, we will tell more about ourselves and our activities," he said.

Latvia

Cabinet Issues Resolution on Withdrawal Talks

LD0401202394 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1900 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Today the Cabinet of Ministers adopted a resolution on the talks between Latvia and Russia on the withdrawal of the Army and the issue of the Skrunda

radar station. The Government delegation in the talks with Russia is authorized during the upcoming talks to agree to 31 August this year as the final deadline for the withdrawal of the Russian Army, on condition that the issue of the Skrunda radar station is resolved.

The Cabinet also accepted for presentation to the Saeima a bill on local government, setting out the functions and tasks of Latvian local authorities and the role of local government in labor organization. The sitting also approved other resolutions.

Further on Resolution

LD0501064694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0629 GMT 5 Jan 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga January 5 TASS—Latvia accepted the Russian concession that Moscow withdraws its troops from the Baltic republic before this September, but hinted it is not going to meet in full the Russian demand about keeping the radar in the settlement of Skrunda for another six years.

The republican government met on Tuesday and accepted the Russian proposal made two months ago that the end of August 1994 should be the deadline for the pullout.

Russia which initialy wanted to complete the withdrawal by the end of 1994 agreed to speed it up on condition that the radar in Skrunda is kept for another six years.

Latvian Foreign Minister Georgs Andreyevs said his country is advancing a compromise decision on the radar which does not ruin the Russian proposal.

According to him, the dismantling of one of the units of the radar can begin immediately, however, the station will be able to continue working.

The minister refused to disclose other details saying that this compromise will be offered to Russia at the new round of talks the date of which had not been determined yet. Initially it was scheduled for December 20, but was suspended because of Russian elections.

He said that many foreign countries are ready to monitor the future agreement on the radar station.

However, Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis said in a TV interview that "no (foreign) country has yet expressed its position on the Skrunda (radar)."

Danish Delegation Meets Ulmanis, Visits Skrunda

LD0401195394 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] A delegation of the Danish Ministry of Defense today visited the the Russian army unit at Skrunda. Speaking at a press briefing at the Ministry of Defense, Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup acknowledged that Russia undoubtedly has military-strategic interests in Latvia. However, no country has the right to maintain its troops in another state against its will.

At Skrunda the Danish delegation met the leading personnel of the radar station and listened to a lecture on the activities and functions of this station. The guests were not denied a chance to examine the station's technical equipment. After that the delegation of the Danish Ministry of Defense visited the Kuldiga Home Guard battalion.

President Guntis Ulmanis also met the Danish minister of defense today. Ulmanis noted that this is the first foreign delegation to make close acquaintance with the Skrunda radar station. The president also appreciatively assessed the cooperation agreement signed between the defense forces of Latvia and Denmark, and noted that the three main issues in talks with Russia directly concern the Skrunda radar station.

The Danish defense minister offered the assistance of his specialists in ascertaining the harmful effects of the station. He was also appreciative of the creation of a unified peace battalion for the Baltic countries. Haekkerup and Ulmanis also discussed the idea of the common security system for Europe, and exchanged views on the NATO summit to be held in January, which will also decide on the inclusion of east European countries in these structures.

Further on Skrunda Visit

LD0401224094

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 4 January broadcasts a 2-minute report by station correspondent Valentina Bochkova from Riga on the visit by a Danish delegation, headed by Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup, to the Russian military base at Skrunda in Latvia. Bochkova speaks about the increasing interest in this space vehicle tracking station and the fact that the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia depends on the fate of this station. She says that this station processes information on 15,000 space movements every day. It is an automatic tracking station serviced by at least 450 people, according to the Russian military. The personnel work in complete safety, as neither chemical nor radioactive substances are used as sources of energy. There have not been any accidents or cases of receiving incorrect information since the space observation station started operating in the 1960s. The center is one of the links in Russia's anti-missile defense system, Bochkova says.

Democratic Party Views Russian Elections

WS0401163494 Tallinn BNS in English 1001 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] RIGA, Jan 04, BNS—The results of the Russian parliament election may lead to "repeated attempts (by

Russia) to enslave nations (former Soviet republics)," the Latvian National Democratic Party said in its Jan. 3 appeal to the world governments and community, and in a similar appeal to the Latvian people.

The documents were provoked by the suprise success of Vladimir Zhirinovsky's ultra-nationalist Liberal Democratic Party and communists in the Dec. 12 elections in Russia.

The Latvian political elite may start restricting democracy in the republic to please Great Russian chauvinists, the statement said.

The governments of the free world countries should prevent "restrictions of human rights and freedoms, and repressions against people loyal to the Latvian independence."

The statement is distributed to foreign diplomats in Latvia.

In the other statement the party urges the Latvian people to actively protest opression and totalitarism.

Otherwise, Latvia may fall back into the yoke of the Russian imperialism, the statement said, because Latvia "still has not become part of the free world; it still lacks close links with other former Communist bloc countries; and the Latvian economy is managed by pro-Russian businessmen."

The statement advises Latvians to react on any attempts against human rights and freedoms by means of civil resistance, like rallies and demonstrations. In case of Russian military aggression, the Latvian national defense forces should not obey orders to surrender their arms, the statement added.

The National Democratic Party also protested its classification as a far right wing grouping. It claimed that, if so, the majority of European countries and the United States should be also viewed as radical rightists.

Budget Minister Clarifies 1994 Budget Plan

WS0501110394 Tallinn BNS in English 0707 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Text] Riga, Jan 04, BNS - Latvian Budget Minister Janis Platais presented the parliament's Social and Labor Affairs' Committee Tuesday [4 January] with extra information on the 1994 budget draft.

The explanations are needed because of the highly complicated structure of the budget plan, Platais said. In addition, the representation of some spendings in state and local budgets has changed, he added.

Platais downplayed criticism, voiced Monday by MP [member of parliament] Ludmila Kuprijanova, that the government failed to budget for the social sphere.

The increased pensions are not reflected in the state budget because the government ties the increase of pensions with the increase of wages in 1994, and the subsequent raise of social tax payments, Platais said.

The government also does not intend to cut maternity allowances, as suggested by Kuprijanova, said Platais, but parents of minor children will have choose between an allowance or an income tax waiver.

The budget plan should be pushed through the parliament soon to start funding the projected reforms, the minister concluded.

MP Criticizes Budget Plan

WS0401163394 Tallinn BNS in English 1001 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] RIGA, Jan 04, BNS—The 1994 budget draft lacks consistency and fails to reflect any economic recovery, said Ludmila Kuprijanova, the head of the parliament's Social and Labor Affairs Committee.

The government's policies target to enlarge the number of jobless residents because the budget provides twice more funds for unemployment allowances in 1994 than last year, Kuprijanova said. The funeral allowances have also increased, she noted.

In 1993, both needs required 1.1 million lats, while this year the planned sum reached 1.6 million lats, said Kuprijanova.

Another chunk of budget resources is earmarked for Latvia's membership in international organizations. In 1993, the sum was 13,000 lats. This year, the allotment soared to 238,000 lats. From this, 153,000 lats will go to the World Health Organization alone.

Kuprijanova questioned the feedback of the Latvian entrance into the international structures.

In her words, the budget plan is misinterpreted. It should be submitted to competent institutions for shaping in accordance with concrete development mainstreams and programs, like the economic development program and the social and medical care programs, said Kuprijanova.

The health care funds remained unchanged, 38.7 million lats, in the prospective budget. The factual assignations also would not increase for pensions, social maintenance and maternity allowances, Kuprijanova added.

Ministry Says New Passports Held by 50 Percent

WS0301170194 Tallinn BNS in English 1025 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Riga, Jan 03, BNS—Until the end of December 1993, about 520,000 persons, or approximately a half of the citizens of Latvia have obtained new passports of the Latvian republic, the deputy head of the visas and passports department of the Latvian Interior Ministry, Janis Vidzups, told BNS.

At the r[illegible], a total of 1,720,000 citizens have been registered in the republic. Meanwhile, the country's population amounts to 2,648,000 people, according to the data of 1991.

Vidzups said the foreign passports of the former Soviet Union will be granted to republican citizens in 1994. Only non-citizens residing in the republic will be able to obtain them. Therefore, Latvian citizens intending to travel abroad will have to obtain a passport of the Latvian republic.

The work of the visas and passports department is hampered by the fact that the Latvian parliament has not decided yet on the status of foreigners and aliens residing in the republic, Vidzups said.

As known, until now Latvian citizens acquiring the republican citizenship for the first time at the age of 16 years old are given a passport of the non-existing Soviet Union.

Lithuania

Minister Writes Christopher on NATO Membership

LD0401152594 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Lithuanian Foreign Affairs Minister Povilas Gylys sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. In his letter, the minister mentioned, once again, the meeting of the foreign ministers of the three Baltic states with the U.S. secretary of state in Riga and expressed his gratitude for the constant cooperation with Lithuania and other Baltic states by the United States.

Lithuania, the letter reads, is especially interested in seeking the assistance and close cooperation with the United States in the areas of national security and defense and in reinforcing the economic reforms and democratic institutions.

Although the last Russian soldier has left Lithuania, the letter goes on, we still remain in a security vacuum zone. The presence of foreign troops in Latvia and Estonia (?is a destabilizing factor in this region). The great concentration of Russian troops in the Kaliningrad region causes especially great concern. Therefore, Lithuania would like to draw the attention of international [passage indistinct]. Following the elections to the Russian parliament, Russian foreign policy may become more nationalistic and more aggressive toward the Baltic states.

The minister stressed that Lithuania, while aspiring to integrate into the Western political, economic, and security systems, regards NATO as her future guarantee. Lithuania, free of foreign troops and national minority problems, is seeking to strengthen cooperation with NATO. We welcome the initiative of Partnership for Peace, hoping that it will stimulate cooperation from partnership to membership.

Foreign investment is an important factor in the development of the economy of our country. In this context, investment by the United States is very significant to Lithuania. Our country is prepared to sign several agreements [passage indistinct].

Brazauskas Sends Official Appeal

LD0401203094 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2000 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas has made an official appeal, asking to admit Lithuania to NATO. Speaking on Lithuanian television on Tuesday, the president said he had sent a letter to Secretary General of NATO Mr. Manfred Woerner, by which, taking into account a parliamentary resolution, he had officially appealed to admit Lithuania to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

In his letter, Mr Algirdas Brazauskas expressed hope that the NATO summit, due January 10 through 11, would open possibilities for the central and east European states to join that organization. The president said Lithuania's standpoint toward its membership in NATO was not aimed at confrontation with either the neighboring countries or any other European state.

Lately the right-wing opposition has been criticizing the Lithuanian president and the governing Democratic Labor Party for too irresolute a position toward Lithuanian membership in NATO.

Meanwhile, the leader of the right-wing opposition, Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, has expressed hope that the letter of the Lithuanian president to the NATO secretary general will attract attention in the West. As the opposition leader put it, then Lithuania will stand side by side with Poland, not only on the map of Europe, but also on the list of candidates for membership in NATO.

Mr. Landsbergis on Tuesday made a statement falling in line with that by the president, that Lithuania is seeking stability and protection, and that this, in his words, is not a threat or humiliation for anybody.

The opposition leader said Lithuania's desire to join NATO did not run counter to the U.S. partnership for peace initiative.

Slezevicius Interviewed on NATO

LD0501114594 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 5 Jan 93

["Regular Tuesday" interview with Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius by unidentified correspondenton 4 January; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] [passage omitted] As prime minister and member of the Council for Coordination of Foreign Policy at the Presidency of the Republic, what is

your comment on the importance of the Lithuanian president's letter sent yesterday to Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary general?

[Slezevicius] I think that the statement made by the president yesterday on TV has an exceptional significance and meaning. Last year was important to Lithuania in all respects. We became a member of the European Council on 14 May and an intensive process of integration began into various economic structures of Europe, including defense structures. This is a long process. In June a decision was adopted in principle by the Council of Europe concerning the possibility of us concluding a free trade agreement with the European Union, as it is now called after the Maastricht Treaty. Therefore, yesterday's statement is a logical sequence of all the decisions and actions which have taken place previously.

Our joint and coordinated position with our Baltic neighbors, Latvia and Estonia, has been voiced several times. This was done at the meeting of the presidents in Riga and Tallinn, at the meeting of the prime ministers, and in our declaration signed jointly by our minister of national defense and his counterparts on 13 September in Tallinn concerning our orientation towards NATO defense structures.

This act [request to join NATO] is a logical sequence of our entire foreign policy. This is especially important at the present moment when we are the first former Soviet republic free of occupying armed forces. This is of great importance. We are now starting a cooperation with the above mentioned European structures on a different level.

[Correspondent] Do you think we will join NATO soon?

[Slezevicius] Indeed some politicians urged us to rush into NATO immediately. They believe that this is a very simple process. I think that we should not be too optimistic about this matter. This is a process, including, as it seems, one of the stages—Partnership for Peace—which is a new initiative put forward by the United States. We are convinced that this would be the first important step proceeding towards a new type of defense structures.

On our part we are conducting very intensive negotiations with NATO leadership. Here the visit by Mr Linkevicius [minister of defense] and his meeting with Secretary General Woerner can be mentioned. A summit of NATO is to held in mid-January, following this the president is to visit Brussels. This will be the first visit by the head of a foreign country aiming at the discussion of all these questions. It is evident that our task is to intensify all these processes, which is what we are currently consistently doing. [passage omitted]

Landsbergis on Yeltsin, NATO

WS0301205194 Tallinn BNS in English 1525 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 03, BNS—"I wish there would be no new Yalta" conference this year, said Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the parliament's rightist opposition.

At a press conference Monday, Landsbergis said signs of a "new Yalta" have appeared and are very threatening to central Europe, especially Lithuania.

Discussing the problem of NATO membership, the opposition leader said a decision to join the alliance is "self-determination, and not only for countries in our region, but for western countries, as well."

Landsbergis said Bulgaria and Macedonia have already officially asked for NATO membership and are treated as "the last states to have expressed a wish" to join the alliance. He expressed hope that Lithuania will be "the last one" and the Dec. 23 resolution of the Lithuanian parliament will be taken into account.

Meanwhile, the Lithuanian administration simply awaits the Jan. 10 NATO summit, the opposition leader said. He reminded reporters that Lithuanian authorities still have several days left to make their move.

Landsbergis said he is deeply concerned about a New Year's speech by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who vowed to better defend the interests of Russians living in the former Soviet republics. The opposition leader pointed out Yeltsin's words that Russia will have difficulty in preserving peace and that Russia will defend its own interests, as well as the interests of its citizens in other countries.

Slezevicius Predicts Economic Upswing in 1994

WS3012111193 Tallinn BNS in English 1033 GMT 29 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 29, BNS—No matter which government is in office, Lithuania will fare even better one year from now, Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius said in an interview with the LETUVOS RYTAS newspaper on Tuesday.

Slezevicius, the country's sixth head of government since it won independence in 1990, says Lithuania is well past the worst stage of economic recession, raising the hope for an increased flow of foreign investment in 1994. He said talks were under way for as many as five credit lines with the World Bank alone.

The prime minister forecast that next year's inflation will be lower than an increase in incomes and pensions because of appropriate groundwork being laid down in the past six months which he called "a very difficult period indeed." Slezevicius said when the government arrived in office nine months ago, it inherited a combined debt of USD 71.4ln [$71 million] for imports of gas and nuclear fuel. The problem has now been

resolved, he said. The monthly 25 percent rate of inflation has now been kept down to less than that for one quarter of the year, he said.

The prime minister said the opposition does not appear to be happy about the signs of stabilization. Slezevicius spoke of farmers threatening a general strike since August and a series of sporadic rallies and pickets which he described as politically-motivated actions aimed at unsettling the situation. And he added that the Conservatives did not conceal their wanting to overthrow the government. However, the social basis for strikes is diminishing, Slezevicius said.

The prime minister warned against attempts to try to rock the boat, saying the government would go ahead with its policy of liberalizing the economy, steadying the currency, and resolving social issues.

Landsbergis Opposes Russian Oil Company's Status

WS0401163694 Tallinn BNS in English 1001 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 04, BNS—The principal aim of the Russian company Lucoil, the chief supplier of oil to Lithuania, is "to increase prices and to rob people" without even having to compete, said Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the Lithuanian parliament's rightist opposition.

The continuing story of Lithuanian oil terminal construction proves that Lithuania's energy system is still dependent on other countries, he said.

Landsbergis said energy prices in Estonia are going down because it imports fuel from the West, while Lithuania makes up the "Lucoil myth" to justify the absence of alternative fuel sources.

Council for Coordination of Foreign Policy Meets

LD0401164094 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Nerijus Maliukevicius, the Lithuanian President's spokesman for the press reported that the first sitting of the Council for Coordination of Foreign Policy was held today at the president's office. The council is headed by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas.

Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, Lithuanian Seimas Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas, Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys, National Defense Minister Linas Linkevicius, and Justas Paleckis, the president's adviser on foreign policy, took part in today's sitting.

The Council for Coordination of Foreign Policy was set up on 9 December of last year by decree of the president. The objective of the council is to coordinate actions in foreign policy among the government institutions and to aim for an effective implementation of these actions, as well as to discuss proposals concerning the execution of foreign policy.

Two items on today's agenda were discussed: The first item was Lithuania's cooperation with the European Union and the expansion of NATO, and the second issue was on future visits to foreign countries by Lithuanian top government officials and future visits to Lithuania by officials and leaders of foreign countries.

Brazauskas is to make a statement on today's Lithuanian TV Panorama program on one of the issues discussed.

Brazauskas Urges Improvement in Privatization

WS0401104794 Tallinn BNS in English 2032 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 03, BNS - Efficient work of state institutions, legal reforms, privatization and foreign investments dominated Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas' regular Monday [3 January] night radio spot this week.

Discussing privatization, the president said it suffers from disorder and abuse of authority by officials. The first stage of the process, hopefully to be completed this year, was very successful, Brazauskas said. He urged the government to carefully prepare a legal basis and a program for the next stage of state property privatization.

The president said the previous year was quite successful because economic stabilization was achieved and foreign trade became much livelier. Brazauskas said the principal task this year will be to sign a free trade agreement with the European Union.

He noted, however, that "very serious conclusions need to be drawn" in stimulating foreign investments and attracting foreign banks to Lithuania. A new law on banks should be adopted as soon as possible, he said.

"I think commercial banks should not be treated so skeptically." In his opinion, the central bank should actively cooperate with commercial banks and other private structures, in order to boost the circulation of capital and to increase credit resources.

The president said a number of serious problems remain in industry and agriculture. Brazauskas expressed hope that production will finally begin to grow this year.

Envoy Strives To Dispel Myths on Relations

WS0501090494 Vilnius ELTA in Lithuanian 1141 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Before the New Year, Professor Jan Widacki, Polish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Lithuania, invited journalists to a press conference in which he tried to dispel the myths about the allegedly unfriendly relations between the Lithuanians and the Poles. According to the ambassador, these myths are spread by some politicians and reporters.

One of those myths is the opinion expressed in the Lithuanian press that Poland either had or has such political and social groups that raise territorial claims to Lithuania.

The ambassador assured that this is not the case, and that the Polish Government recognizes Lithuania's territorial status quo.

Jan Widacki also expressed his surprise with the statements that some "third party" is behind the issue of the registration of the Home Army veterans' club in Lithuania. He ruled out the proposal examined in the Lithuanian press that this club be registered at some Lithuanian veterans' organization or function within the framework of the Poles' Union.

To reduce such misunderstandings, the ambassador proposed that journalists of both countries meet for seminars at least twice a year.

In Jan Widacki's opinion, the journalists' duty is to dispel myths which emerged in relations between the Lithuanian and Polish nations rather than on the interstate level.

Crack Forces Shutdown of Ignalina Turbine

WS0401193494 Tallinn BNS in English 1616 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 04, BNS—The Ignalina nuclear power plant, Lithuania's chief electricity producer, shut down New Year's eve one out of two turbines of the first nuclear reactor, the RESPUBLIKA newspaper said.

The stoppage reportedly resulted from a crack in the turbine's pipe system. Repairs will presumably be completed Jan. 10. The reactor will continue to operate with one turbine until then.

Experts said the shut down of one turbine will not have any noticeable effect on the country's energy system.

Energy Minister Shows No Intention of Resigning

WS0401163294 Tallinn BNS in English 1320 GMT 4 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 04, BNS—Lithuanian Energy Minister Algimantas Stasiukynas claimed the opposition's demands for him to resign are simply "yet another political attack."

In December, the parliament's rightist opposition demanded to take a vote of confidence in the minister for allowing to burn toxic fuel in boiler houses of several Lithuanian towns and regions. As a result, a number of people suffered from gas-poisoning, the opposition said.

In a statement released Monday [3 January], Stasiukynas said state-run and commercial structures have the right to import and to sell oil and oil products in Lithuania in accordance with the Aug. 31, 1992 government resolution. The resolution allows all enterprises within the jurisdiction of the Energy Ministry to purchase oil products without any special permissions.

Absorbent-1, a toxic fuel used in some areas, was purchased by the state-run Siluma (Heat) company from the joint Lithuania-USA company Lamaringas.

According to the established order, oil products can be imported into Lithuania only if their import is officially permitted, or if a special permission is issued by the Environmental Protection Department. The minister said Lamaringas imported the toxic fuel unlawfully and is fully responsible for its realization in Lithuania. The minister said the case has been handed over to the prosecutor's office.

Sajudis Denies Collecting Blank Signatures

WS0401105894 Tallinn BNS in English 2032 GMT 3 Jan 94

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 03, BNS - The board of the Lithuanian Sajudis categorically denied its involvement in collecting signatures under a demand to hold a referendum on early parliamentary elections in Lithuania.

Parliament Chairman Juozas Bernatonis said Monday [3 January] "it is rumored that Sajudis members collect signatures on blank sheets of paper."

In a statement circulated Monday, the executive secretary of Sajudis, Jurgis Razma, said the organization's board never even discussed a possibility to start collecting signatures for a referendum. Razma said regional branches of Sajudis have not been authorized to deal with the matter either.

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